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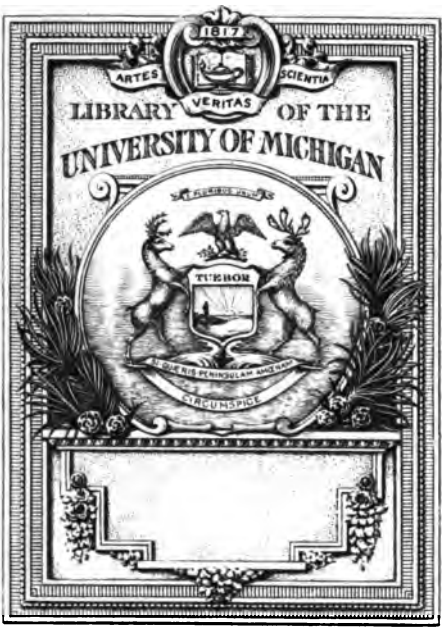
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LETTERS

FROM

FRANCE:

CONTAINING

A GREAT VARIETY OF INTERESTING AND ORIGINAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS THAT HAVE LATELY OCCURRED IN THAT COUNTRY,

AND

PARTICULARLY RESPECTING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

BY

HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.

VOL. III.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

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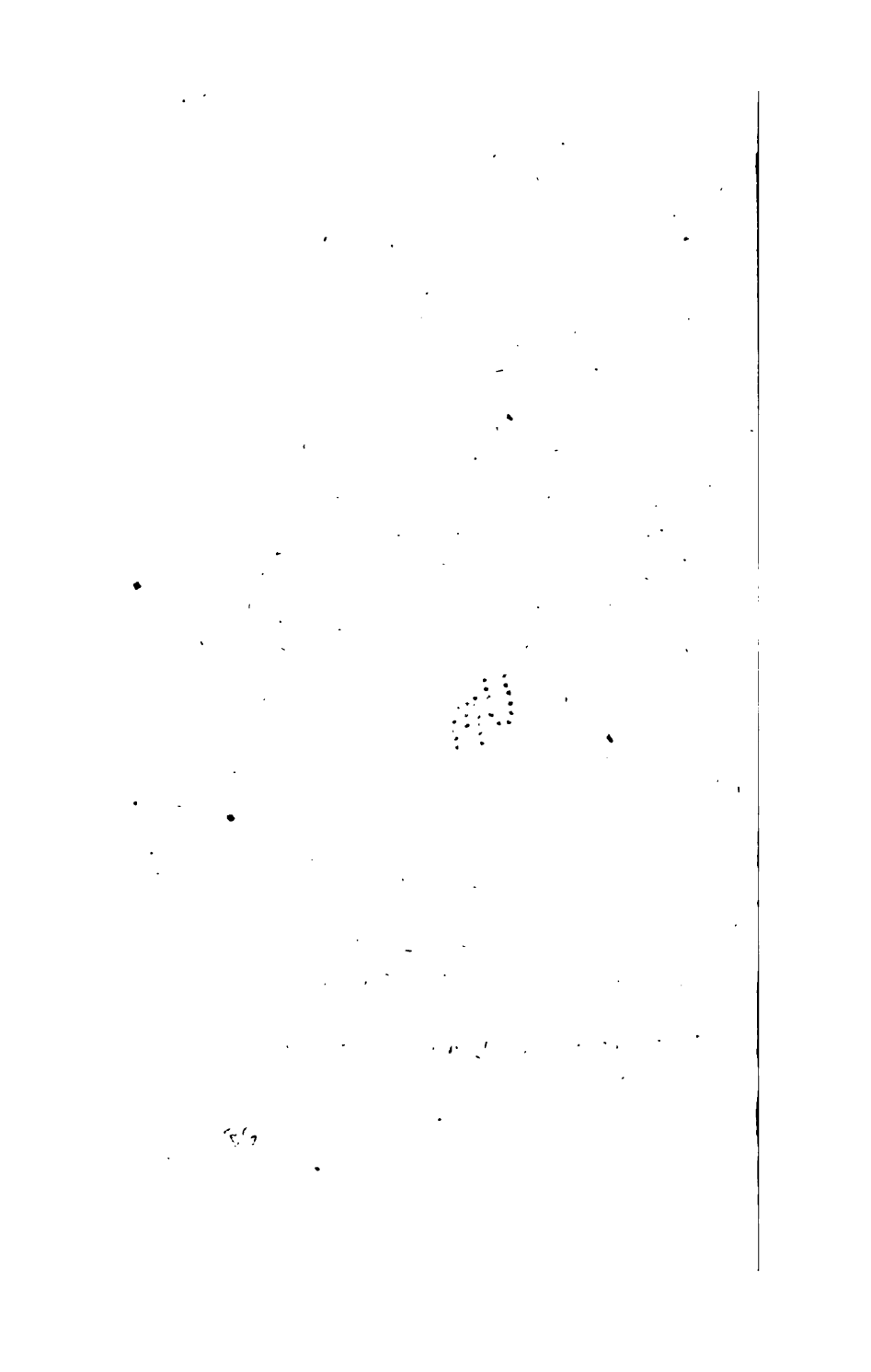

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TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THOUGH, for particular reaſons, the author's name could not be prefixed to theſe Letters*, the reader will, on the peruſal of them, be at no loſs to determine from what quarter they proceed.

It is only fair, however, to premiſe, that they are not all the production of the ſame pen. The Letters, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, in Vol. III. which contain a hiſtory of the campaign of 1792, are by another hand; but the public will eaſily perceive that they are written by a perſon who has had

* [The name of the Author was not prefixed to the firſt edition.]

the

the *beſt* information on the ſubject that France could afford.

The concluding letter is by a third perſon; but as it contained a very intereſting diſquiſition concerning the popular topics of the times, the publiſher conceived he could not render a more acceptable ſervice to the purchaſers of theſe volumes than to inſert it.

LET-

LETTERS FROM FRANCE.

LETTER I.

PARIS, *January* 25, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

THE event which has this week taken place in Paris, will no doubt furniſh you with ample matter for ſpeculation. Imagination contemplates with an overwhelming emotion that extraordinary viciſſitude of fortune which conducted Louis the Sixteenth from the radiant palace of Verſailles, to the gloomy tower of the Temple—from the firſt throne of Europe, to the ſcaffold and the block—while the feelings of the heart, which

run a faſter pace than the reaſonings of the head, reject for a while all calculation of general good or evil, and melt in mournful ſympathy over "greatneſs fallen from its high eſtate." But, when we conſider the importance which this event may have in its conſequences, not only to this country, but to all Europe, we loſe ſight of the individual ſufferer, to meditate upon the deſtiny of mankind.

While you obſerve from a diſtance the great drama which is acting in France, I am a ſpectator of the repreſentation.—I am placed near enough the ſcene to diſcern every look and every geſture of the actors, and every paſſion excited in the minds of the audience. I ſhall therefore endeavour to fill up the outline of that picture which France has preſented to your contemplation ſince the memorable epocha of the tenth of Auguſt.

That conflict which after the King's acceptance of the new conſtitution exiſted in

in this country between the executive and legiſlative powers, between the court and the people, has ſince the tenth of Auguſt been ſucceeded by a conflict far more terrible; a conflict between freedom and anarchy, knowledge and ignorance, virtue and vice. While the real patriots of France, in their different conflicts with the ancient deſpotiſm, riſked their lives, and ſhed their blood, and by their deſperate valour confirmed the liberty of their country, a ſet of men, who expoſed not their perſons to the ſmalleſt danger in the enterpriſe, contrived, without peril or exertion, to ſeize upon a conſiderable portion of power; and never ſurely in the annals of tyranny have we heard of power more ſhamefully abuſed. Thoſe demagogues, known by the appellation of the "Commune proviſoire de Paris," have, during the ſhort period of their uſurpation, committed more crimes than deſpotiſm itſelf would have

achieved in ages. The crimes of tyrants, by exciting our abhorrence, ſerve to promote the cauſe of freedom. It was reſerved for the Commune of Paris to check the generous glow of ſympathy with a great and magnanimous nation, which had nobly emancipated itſelf from ſlavery, and to lead all the feelings of humanity to take part with its oppreſſors. Surrounding nations, who might perhaps have been animated by the example of a country which has long ſerved as a model to the reſt of Europe, have heard of the ſecond of September, and have ſhrunk back into the torpor of ſlavery. They have beheld, in the room of the pure and ſublime worſhip of liberty, the grim idol of anarchy ſet up, and have ſeen her altar ſmeared with ſanguinary rites. They have beheld the inhuman judges of that night wearing the municipal ſcarf which their polluting touch profaned, ſurrounded by men armed with pikes and ſabres

dropping

dropping with blood—while a number of blazing torches threw their glaring light on the ferocious viſages of thoſe execrable judges, who, mixing their voices with the ſhrieks of the dying, paſſed ſentence with a ſavage mockery of juſtice, on victims devoted to their rage. They have beheld the infernal executioners of that night, with their arms bared for the purpoſes of murder, dragging forth thoſe victims to modes of death at which nature ſhudders.——Ah! ye ſlaughtered heroes of the immortal 14th of July, was it for this ye overthrew the towers of the Baſtile, and burſt open its gloomy dungeons?—was it for this, ye generous patriots, that with heroic contempt of life ye ſhed your blood to give liberty and happineſs to your enſlaved country? —Ah! had ye foreſeen that the fanatics of liberty, fierce as the fanatics of ſuperſtition, would have their day of St. Bartholomew, would not your victorious

arms have been unnerved? Would not the ſacred glow of freedom have been frozen in your veins? Ah! what is become of the delightful viſions which elevated the enthuſiaſtic heart?—What is become of the tranſport which beat high in every boſom, when an aſſembled million of the human race vowed on the altar of their country, in the name of the repreſented nation, inviolable fraternity and union—an eternal federation! This was indeed the golden age of the revolution. —But it is paſt!—the enchanting ſpell is broken, and the fair ſcenes of beauty and of order, through which imagination wandered, are transformed into the deſolation of the wilderneſs, and clouded by the darkneſs of the tempeſt. If the genius of Liberty—profaned Liberty! does not ariſe in his might, and cruſh thoſe violators of freedom, whoſe crimes have almoſt broken the heart of humanity, the inhabitants of Paris may indeed

"wiſh

" wiſh for the wings of the dove, that they may fly away and be at reſt—for there is violence and ſtrife in the city."

At the head of this band of conſpirators is Robeſpierre—gloomy and ſaturnine in his diſpoſition, with a countenance of ſuch dark aſpect as ſeems the index of no ordinary guilt—fanatical and exaggerated in his avowed principles of liberty, poſſeſſing that ſpecies of eloquence which gives him power over the paſſions, and that cool determined temper which regulates the moſt ferocious deſigns with the moſt calm and temperate prudence. His crimes do not appear to be the reſult of paſſion, but of ſome deep and extraordinary malignity, and he ſeems formed to ſubvert and to deſtroy. " One, next to him in power, and next in crime," is Danton, who, though not inferior to his aſſociate in vice, and ſuperior in ability, having leſs ſelf-command, is conſequently leſs dangerous.—

This man, at the period of the maſſacres, was Miniſter of Juſtice, and, being conjured to exert his authority in putting a ſtop to thoſe horrors, coolly anſwered, "Quand le peuple ont exercé *leurs* droits, je reprendrai les *miennes**."

Marat, though ſometimes ſpoken of as one of the leaders of this faction, is in reality only one of its inſtruments——

A fellow by the hand of nature mark'd,
Quoted, and ſign'd to do a deed of ſhame;
And taking note of his abhorred aſpect,
Finding him fit for bloody villany,

he is employed to execute the purpoſes of more able heads.

This triumvirate, reſembling the celebrated triumvirate of Rome in every thing that bears the marks of baſeneſs and of crimes, had aſſociated in their guilt a number of leſſer chiefs, who in their turn had enliſted others as inſtruments of the

* When the people have exerted *their* rights, I will aſſume *mine*.

ſame

ſame horrid purpoſe. The organization of this executive aſſembly was formed with ſo much addreſs, that the leſs confidential members of it were ignorant how they came together, whilſt thoſe who were the primary movers were careful to leave no poſitive traces of their guilt. Hence ariſes the extreme difficulty of puniſhing theſe murderers; for though the complicated chain of evidence may be purſued to a certain length, yet it always breaks off in the link that leads to conviction. Theſe chiefs had contributed to the annihilation of the power of the legiſlative aſſembly by their audacity, as much as itſelf had done by its want of energy and courage; and taking advantage of its weakneſs and little conſideration with the people, they had carried their views, as it is generally believed, to the immediate overthrow of what remained of the then exiſting ſyſtem, and meant to eſtabliſh a government of mu-

nicipalities, Mr. Burke's forty-four thouſand republics, of which Paris ſhould be the centre, and they the worthy protectors. The idea was great, but the achievement was difficult. Who believes, that knows any thing of the character of theſe men, or who has obſerved with any attention their conduct ſince, that any thing but ſuch inordinate ambition was their aim? But was it likely, you will aſk, that the extirpation of prieſts, of the impriſoned agents of the ariſtocracy, and proſcribed conſpirators, could lead to the furtherance of their views? How, by making themſelves the executors of ſuch ſummary juſtice, could they arrive at the accompliſhment of their wiſhes? Thoſe victims alone would certainly have proved inſufficient to the accompliſhment of their deſigns, and there is no doubt that the proſcription extended to the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the Aſſembly, and to the moſt virtuous and

reſpectable

reſpectable men of the executive council. But theſe ſtateſmen of the Commune felt that to ſtrike at once thoſe men, whom the people had been accuſtomed to conſider as their firmeſt friends, would be too daring and deſperate an act. A general inſurrection of the mob, therefore, ſeemed to them the beſt mode of eventually accompliſhing their purpoſe. And as no mob ſufficiently great was to be procured by their own means, they contrived to make the Aſſembly itſelf ignorantly acquieſce in their diabolical projects. On the day, therefore, when theſe maſſacres began, the Commune appeared at the bar, and informed the Aſſembly, that at two o'clock they ſhould order the alarm guns to fire, and the tocſin to ſound, that the people ſummoned into the Champ de Mars might from thence march directly to meet the approaching enemy, who were coming with haſty ſteps to

Paris, after having cut off the four thouſand men ſent to the relief of Verdun.—This was a falſehood, contrived and calculated, as they hoped, to accompliſh their purpoſe: but though the people were much agitated, they were not ſufficiently wound up for ſuch an enterpriſe. Inſtead therefore of meeting in immenſe crowds in the Champ de Mars, where theſe aſſaſſins would have more readily found the means of urging them to any crime, they met peaceably in their different ſections to conſult on the beſt meaſures for the public ſafety, totally ignorant at the moment what horrid deeds were about to be tranſacted. Finding, therefore, that the people were not to be made the inſtruments, they were forced to make uſe of the means which they had previouſly concerted. The prieſts confined in the Carmes, under pretence of waiting ſome opportunity for baniſh-

ment

ment according to a decree of the Aſſembly, fell the firſt victims.—The priſoners in the Abbaye were the next, who had been ſent thither ſince the 10th of Auguſt by warrants from their murderers: the other priſons were viſited ſucceſſively, where this work of death, for the executioners were very few, laſted two days, and at the priſon of La Force extended to four. One is tempted to enquire with Lear, "Is there any cauſe "in nature that makes theſe hard "hearts?" Various conjectures have been formed reſpecting the number put to death in thoſe four days—they have been leſſened or exaggerated according to the political opinions of the relater. Liſts of all the priſoners at that time confined are now printed by authority; and the amount is ſtated at one thouſand and eighty-eight, including the felons, who formed nearly half the number.

number. " * Mais, a-t-on dit," ſaid Louvet, in his accuſation of Robeſpierre, " ſi le peuple n'a pas participé à ces meurtres, pourquoi ne les a-t-il pas empêchés ? Pourquoi ? Parce que l'autorité tutélaire de Petion étoit enchainée ; parce que Roland parloit en vain ; parce que le miniſtre de la juſtice ne parloit pas ; parce que les préſidents des quarante-huit ſections, prêtes à réprimer tant d'affreux déſordres, attendoient des réquiſitions que le commandant-général ne fit pas ; parce que des officiers muni-

* But it has been ſaid, If the people did not participate in theſe murders, why did they not prevent them ? Why ? Becauſe the tutelar authority of Petion was fettered : becauſe Roland ſpoke in vain ; becauſe the miniſter of juſtice remained ſilent ; becauſe the preſidents of the forty-eight ſections, who were ready to ſuppreſs theſe horrible outrages, waited for orders, which the commander in chief never iſſued ; becauſe municipal officers wearing the national ſcarf, the enſign of their judicial authority, preſided at theſe atrocious executions.

cipaux,

cipaux, couverts de leurs écharpes, preſidoient à ces atroces exécutions."

Twice Petion wrote to Santerre, the commander in chief of the national guard of Paris, conjuring him to ſend a ſufficient guard to the priſons, to protect the priſoners from violence; but Santerre was called upon in vain. Twice Petion went himſelf to the priſon de la Force; and after deſcribing, in his ſpeech upon Robeſpierre's accuſation, the ſpectacle which there preſented itſelf, with all the ſenſibility of indignant virtue he adds, "* Et les hommes qui jugeaient, et les hommes qui exécutaient, avaient la

* And the men who paſſed judgment, and the men who executed that judgment, performed their office with as much ſecurity as if the law had called upon them to fulfil thoſe functions. They boaſted to me of their juſtice, their attention to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty, and their important ſervices. They demanded, can it be believed? they demanded payment for their time. I was filled with

la même ſécurité que ſi la loi les eût appelés à remplir ces fonctions. Ils me vantaient leur juſtice, leur attention à diſtinguer les innocents des coupables, les ſervices qu'ils avaient rendus; ils demandaient, pourrait-on le croire? ils demandaient à être payés du temps qu'ils avaient paſſé; j'étais réellement confondu de les entendre.

" Je leur parlai le langage auſtère de la loi: je leur parlai avec le ſentiment de l'indignation profonde dont j'étais pénétré. Je les fis ſortir tous devant moi; j'étais à peine ſorti moi-même, qu'ils y rentrèrent: je fus de nouveau ſur les lieux, pour les en chaſſer; la

with horror at the requeſt, I ſpoke to them the auſtère language of the law—I ſpoke to them with that feeling of deep indignation with which I was penetrated. I obliged them to depart. Scarcely was I gone myſelf, when they returned. I went a ſecond time, and again forced them to leave the place; but that night they finiſhed their horrible butchery.

nuit,

nuit, ils achevèrent leur horrible boucherie."

Such were the immediate evils of the ſecond of September: their conſequences will probably extend far beyond the limits of that country which was the theatre of this inhuman violence. The inhabitants of Paris muſt bear, through every ſucceeding age, the recorded diſgrace of having remained in a ſtate of ſtupified aſtoniſhment and terror, while no more than fifty hired aſſaſſins imprinted an indelible ſtain upon the country. But the bitter puniſhment of having incurred that diſgrace, is, perhaps, all which this country has to fear. Anarchy cannot be laſting. The evils it may produce will be but the evils of this day and of to-morrow——Thoſe diſorders which may for awhile convulſe the infant republic, will ceaſe with the lives of their perpetrators, who can aſſaſſinate individuals, but cannot aſſaſſinate opi-

nions

nions which appear to be widely diffuſed. Yet theſe are conſiderations which may lead us to fear, that, if the evils of anarchy will be temporary, they will alſo be terrible. It is well known that all the legiſlative aſſembly did, was to undo what the conſtituent aſſembly had done. Convinced, from the conduct of the court, that the liberty of France could only be preſerved by the terrible means of another revolution, the ſecond legiſlature, not deeming the national guard ſufficient for this purpoſe, armed every man in Paris, and conſequently placed a formidable power in the hands of that ſwarm of idle and profligate perſons which infeſt great capitals, and who, having nothing to loſe, feel that "havock, and ſpoil and "ruin are their gain." Such perſons are, under an eſtabliſhed government, checked in their outrages on ſociety, by the terror of puniſhment; but in the criſis

criſis of a revolution they become the dangerous inſtruments of party rage and faction. They may ſtill commit enormities, of which the bourgeois of Paris, who appear ſince the ſecond of September to be ſunk in a ſtate of complete ſtupefaction, may remain puſillanimous witneſſes; but which may provoke the indignation of the other departments of the kingdom, where, in general, the love of liberty is connected with the utmoſt horror of anarchy. Hence civil commotions may ariſe. Upon the whole, the French revolution is ſtill in its progreſs, and who can decide how its laſt page will finiſh?

The ſurrounding nations of Europe, after contemplating the ſavage ſpectacle which the ſecond of September preſented, will perhaps feel, that deſpotiſm, armed with its arbitrary impoſitions, its gloomy towers, and its ſolitary dungeons, is not more hideous than anarchy. Deſpotiſm may

may be compared to a ſtream, which, ſupplied from a caſual ſpring, or unequal ſource, leaves, for the moſt part, the region through which it paſſes parched and deſolate; yet, ſometimes ſhedding partial moiſture, cheers the eye with a ſpot of ſcanty verdure. But anarchy is the impetuous torrent that ſweeps over the land with irreſiſtible violence, and involves every object in one wide maſs of ruin.

On the 20th of September the national convention aſſembled at Paris. On that aſſembly every eye was fixed with eager expectation. Inveſted with unlimited powers, its auguſt miſſion was to give a new impulſe to human affairs, to introduce a better order of things.—The fate not only of France, but of Europe, of mankind, ſeemed entruſted to its wiſdom and its virtue; and the happineſs or miſery of ages appeared to be ſuſpended on its deciſions. It was fondly

hoped

hoped that its edicts would diſpel the moral chaos of popular paſſions, and give birth to intellectual harmony and order.

" Here be it thine to calm and guide
" The ſwelling democratic tide,
" To watch the ſtate's uncertain frame,
" And baffle faction's partial aim."

But it was ſoon found that one circumſtance of inauſpicious omen had caſt a cloud over the riſing ſun of the republic. It was ſoon found that liberty had "fallen on evil days and evil tongues." Many of the electors of Paris were the adherents of that faction which had planned the maſſacres of September; and the ſanctuary of the nation was profaned by the preſence of men, who, after having violated all laws, appeared in the character of legiſlators. It was ſoon found that the cauſe of liberty had not only to fear the ambitious deſigns of the chiefs of this faction, who deſired to riſe upon the ruins

ruins of their country, and the profligate wretches who were the inſtruments of their crimes; but alſo the miſtaken attachment of men who were ſeduced into this party, not from depravity of heart, but from principles carried to exceſs; men who, taken from the loweſt ſtations of life, and having no knowledge of public affairs, are, from the ardour of their zeal for liberty, made the dupes of its pretended champions. If the party Gironde * deſire to relieve the wants of the poorer claſs of citizens, the Mountain

* The party *Gironde* is ſo called, becauſe the department of the *Gironde* has proved more fertile than any other in talents; and moſt of the diſtinguiſhed members of each national aſſembly have belonged to the *Gironde*, but not all; for *La Source* is not of that department. The faction at the head of which are Robeſpierre, Danton, and Marat, has taken the name of *La Montagne*, becauſe its leaders uſually place themſelves on the moſt elevated ſeats in the aſſembly; and have alſo heard that the inhabitants of mountains are ardent lovers of liberty.

faction

faction declare, that ſuch expedients are at an abject diſtance from le hauteur de la revolution, which calls for an equal diviſion of property.

" What happier natures ſhrink at with affright,
" The harden'd Maratiſt contends is right."

This faction endeavour to lead the people to the laſt degree of moral degradation, by teaching that the love of order is the love of deſpotiſm, and that the moſt unequivocal proof of patriotiſm is to remain in permanent inſurrection. In the ſections of Paris, which for the moſt part are under the influence of this faction, a man, in order to gain applauſe, muſt harangue in the groſſeſt language of the loweſt vulgar; and a perſon of education is hooted for that reaſon only; any ſuperiority of mind being conſidered as an ariſtocratical deviation from the great principles of equality. This faction have declared war againſt every improvement,

provement, and every grace of civilised society—all that embellishes human life—all that softens and refines our nature.—They desire to send the arts and sciences into everlasting exile, to throw down all the monuments of taste and genius, and to destroy all literature in one impious conflagration. What gives room to suspect that a considerable number of these demagogues have been purchased by foreign courts, is, that the faction of the Mountain has been joined by all the former nobles and priests who have been chosen members of the national convention. This coalition seems to arise from similarity of views; from the hope that the people, tired at length of the mischiefs and the miseries of anarchy, will again bend their necks to the yoke of despotism. It is asserted by many persons, that Marat is a determined aristocrate. And it is certain that, when he preaches insurrection and mas-

facre, he befriends the cauſe of tyrannic power; and if he is not the agent of the Houſe of Auſtria, he is one of its moſt formidable allies. I lately aſked a Frenchman of my acquaintance, who poſſeſſes diſtinguiſhed talents, and the moſt ardent love of liberty, what prevented him from taking an active part in public affairs? "Diſguſt," he replied. "Our revolution," added he, "reminds me of the works of a celebrated "Italian painter, who drew the moſt "charming ſcenery, enriched with the "moſt beautiful proſpects and delicious "walks—but the groups of figures "which were ſeen in thoſe delightful "regions, were groteſque and hideous. "—Such," ſaid he, "appears our revolution in my eyes. The theory is "beautiful, the principles are ſublime, "but many of the actors are deteſtable; "and it is a ſyſtem of which the preſent

"race is not worthy." This want of virtue is, in truth, the ſentence of their condemnation. They have indeed thrown off the fetters, but they have retained the vices, of deſpotiſm.

"And when contending chiefs blockade the throne,
"Contracting regal power to ſtretch their own;
"When I behold a factious band agree
"To call it freedom when themſelves are free;
"Fear, pity, juſtice, indignation ſtart,
"Tear off reſerve, and rend my ſwelling heart;
"Till, half a patriot, half a coward grown,
"I fly from petty tyrants to the throne."

After ſeveral weeks paſſed in tumultuous oppoſition, on the part of the Mountain, to every meaſure propoſed by the party Gironde, and in violent denunciations againſt Roland, that miniſter, who, after having oppoſed with noble firmneſs the tyranny of the court, now reſiſted with the ſame inflexible virtue the tyranny of the demagogues, and whom the Abbé Sieyes emphatically calls

calls "le *Veto* des coquins *;" the faction of the Mountain, in conjunction with the Jacobins and the ſections of Paris, demanded with clamorous vehemence the trial of the dethroned monarch—or rather his execution—ſince the tedious forms of a trial did not accord with the ſummary proceedings of the judges of the ſecond of September, who were accuſtomed to murder ſans inſtruction préalable †. But before I give you an account of the trial, it is in the order of time to mention the victories obtained by the French arms in that memorable campaign, the brilliant ſucceſſes of which it will require all the authenticity of modern hiſtory to render credible to poſterity. The ſplendid triumphs of the "plumed war," ſays our great poet, "make even ambition vir-

* "The *Veto* of villains."

† Without previous notice.

"tue." But here they are pure and unſullied in the view of morality; for we feel that the only juſt cauſe for war, that ſcourge of the human race, is when men take up arms to defend their country from invaſion, to protect their property, their wives, their children. Of that eventful campaign I have it in my power to ſend you a moſt intereſting detail, which I received in a ſeries of letters from one of my Engliſh friends, who had ſpirit enough, in defiance of perſonal hardſhips and danger, to viſit the armies, and who, having had the beſt opportunities of obſervation, has not only traced with accuracy, as well as energy, the great leading events of the campaign, but has alſo related many little incidents, which, as they ſerve to mark the temper of the contending parties, are highly valuable. We wiſh to ſnatch from oblivion the moſt minute circumſtances connected with any remarkable epocha

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in human affairs: we wish to view the ſcene which has been the theatre of any memorable action. The letters I now incloſe will convey to your mind, in a high degree, that ſort of gratification; from which I will not detain you longer.

LETTER II.

St. Menehould, October 6.
First Year of the Republic.

——WE arrived here laſt evening, under circumſtances very diſtreſſing to any but thoſe who had made up their account for hardſhips and adventure; for we found aſſembled the état major of three or four armies, with the commiſſaries of the convention, who, with their numerous attendants, had ſo filled the town, that it ſeemed doubtful whether we could find room, even in the ſtreets, blocked up as they were with baggage-waggons, caiſſons, cannon, and other implements of war, for our carriage, if we were once more compelled to make it our ſleeping apartment. After parting from Chalons, we entered that part of

of Champaigne which is proverbial for its barrenneſs and poverty; and as if nature had not done ſufficiently little for it, the Pruſſians and Auſtrians had been induſtrious to reduce it to its minimum. Here we found the firſt veſtiges of the deſolation of war, in dead horſes, plundered cottages, and the deſtruction of every thing that had the appearance of wood, however unfitted for fuel; ſuch as inſtruments of huſbandry, the gable end of houſes, or the trees which ornament the public roads in France, and which, in this unintereſting country, muſt have been peculiarly grateful to the otherwiſe wearied eye of the traveller. It was with extreme difficulty that we had made three poſts in the courſe of ſeven hours, the intercourſe between the armies and Paris having been lately ſo great, that the poor animals, which in more tranquil days are not much encumbered with fleſh, could ſcarcely have ac-

acknowledged for horſes. The night was drawing on, when, after paſſing over the Pruſſian entrenchments, on the heights marked by geographers as the camp of Attila, we reached the village of Orbwal, which is two leagues from this place, and near which the action of the 20th of September took place. The inhabitants were not yet recovered from their terrors. The ſhades of Auſtrians and Pruſſians were dancing before their eyes, and the muſic of cannon ſounding yet in their ears; ſo that we were often obliged to repeat our queſtion, and accommodate our voice to the tone of their tympanum; and every anſwer they gave us was accompanied by a vociferation, in which the report of the artillery was very well imitated. On reaching this village, which, after the dreary wilderneſs we had paſſed, our appetites and imagination had figured as the land of Canaan, we found nothing of its

its characteriſtics; for the ſame deſolation had followed the march of the enemy, and the armies then around them had finiſhed in emptying the country of all its reſources. An American officer of artillery, whom we had ſeen at Chalons, and whoſe baggage we had taken into our carriage to relieve his horſe, otherwiſe ſufficiently loaded, had arrived here before us, and, having ſucceeded in procuring ſome refreſhment for his wearied animal, was ſupplicating the circle of half-ſtarved ſpectators to procure the ſame favour for himſelf. We found him in the attitude of Panurge in Rabelais, making all the ſigns which his ingenuity could invent (for though appointed to the command of a battalion, he underſtood not a ſyllable of the language), to inform them that he was expiring for hunger; whilſt they, who perfectly well underſtood his meaning, could not make it ſo clear to his appre-

henſions that there were ſome places in the world where nothing could be gained even for money. The curſe of famine could not have preſented a more deſolating appearance. As we could procure no food, we were not tortured by the ſight of any of the implements for its preparation; for the cooks of the enemy had deſpoiled them of every kitchen utenſil. A ſoldier at length entered, with whom we exchanged a ſeat at our fire, and a livre or two, for a morſel of his bread, to appeaſe the hunger of our half Engliſh brother; and after this repaſt, with horſes of equal worth and celerity with the laſt, we reached St. Menehould. Every thing here that had the appearance of an inn had long been preoccupied; and we were about to give up the ſearch in deſpair, when our forlorn ſituation moved the pity of a lady, the owner of an hotel, which had the appearance of being occaſionally the recep-

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tacle of the humbler ſort of travellers; where having gained a footing, ſhe undertook to procure us ſomething that might bear the reſemblance of a bed. The kitchen preſented us with ſufficient charms to fix our attention. A hoſt of officers were ſeated round the table, calling with ſome impatience for the ſervice, of whoſe common diſh we were invited to partake, and which we ſhould have readily accepted, had not every ſeat been already occupied. We therefore prepared our repaſt like claſſic heroes, and made trenchers of our bread. A blazing fire dried our garments, which had been drenched while we were ſeeking this aſylum; and a bottle of better wine was procured for us, than the pay of our companions could afford, who did us the favour to partake it with us. Pleaſures are comparative. While *we* thought on the ſplendour and hoſpitality of Mereville, in whoſe enchanting gardens we

paſſed the laſt week, *they* congratulated themſelves in being ſheltered from the pitileſs ſtorm that was howling around their companions encamped on the adjoining hills; though to have fared ſo well, when we had every expectation of faring ſo badly, ought to have been to us a ſubject of congratulation alſo. We made part of their circle, and partook of the general amuſement; which was that of relating, every man to his neighbour, who without paying attention was equally occupying the ear of the next, the adventures of the day, and, what had fifty times been related and known before, the adventures of the whole campaign. The neceſſity they felt to give us information, when they found us complaiſant enough to liſten, kept us till a late hour; and judging of what was to come by what was preſent and paſt, had it not been for diſturbing the œconomy of the family, I ſhould have preferred my immediate

mediate poſt, and waited for the morning without hazarding the contingent comforts of a bed. This accommodation our hoſteſs, after much labour and contrivance, had found, or rather made for us in a chamber which in days of ſplendour, ſuch as fairs and great markets, was occupied by the ſervants of pedlars, and merchants of that deſcription; but which ordinarily was the repoſitory of wood for the family. After wading ancle deep, and aſcending a ladder at the end of a ſtable yard, we found two mattreſſes decently laid on ſtraw; one of which was occupied by an officer, who, from his attitude on our entrance, was probably dreaming of thieves or the enemy. The ſheets, an unexpected luxury, of the other mattreſs, being in a ſtate of vapour, independently of other conſiderations, I wrapped my great coat round me, and made up for the fatigue

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of the paſt days, by ſleeping till morning very profoundly.

I waited on the commiſſaries Carra and De Sillery, who had been ſent, with Prieur, by the convention, as civil ſuperintendants of the armies. I heard from them that Dumourier had left St. Menehould early this morning, with the intention of marching his army towards Flanders; leaving Kellermann and Dillon to attend the Pruſſians, who are now in full retreat. From them alſo we have learnt the principal events of this hitherto extraordinary campaign; and as the weather continues ſo unfriendly to any farther expedition at preſent, I ſhall reſerve my viſit to Dumourier's camp till the morrow, and finiſh my letter with a ſlight ſketch of what has hitherto been effected, in as unmilitary a ſtyle as poſſible.

The campaign opened under very unhappy

happy auſpices. You remember the diſtreſs and indignation which reigned throughout Paris when the news of the diſaſtrous retreat from Tournay and Mons arrived, and the horrid circumſtances with which it was attended. The retreat was diſregarded, but the murder of Dillon and the priſoners was a ſtain which nothing could efface. Its unhappy effects were not confined to Paris; it was a blow given to the cauſe of liberty in every country. Mr. Burke was glorying in the accompliſhment of his prophecies in the Houſe of Commons, whilſt Mr. Fox obſerved, more prophetically, that when they both lamented the defeats of Waſhington, and ſhed tears over the fate of Montgomery, a ſhort time reverſed the ſcene, in victories obtained, and armies captured; and that, though he had equal abhorrence with himſelf at the deed which he reprobated, yet he had known too much of

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the world to feel deſpondent at ſuch events, and had learnt, from the example of America, not to be diſconcerted at the failure of firſt enterpriſes; reminding him, that Franklin, when news was brought to him, whilſt negotiating at Paris, that the American armies were totally routed, coolly replied, I expected it *. Here, though the feelings of the court on the ſucceſs of this fatal enterpriſe (for to the court it was a victory) were in perfect uniſon with Mr. Burke, yet it did not dare avow its ſatisfaction ſo openly; but the Auſtrian committees were ſubjects of eternal denunciation, and their correſpondence with the enemy was as well known at Paris, as it was in the chamber where theſe committees ſat. The court,

* Franklin was not much in the habit of ſpeaking the French language, but had a few ſignificant phraſes to expreſs his feelings. When the news of any unfortunate event was brought him, he uſed to exclaim, "Oui oui, c'eſt poſſible; mais ça ira, ça ira," which was the origin of this popular ſong.

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forgetting that any change had taken place in the opinions of the people, ſurrounded by characters which ſoothed its vanity and flattered its hopes, thought that by filling every office of any influence with its own dependents, ſo long as it kept within the exact letter of the conſtitution, the people would not dare to examine into its conduct, or, if they durſt, that the law would have force to awe them into ſilence. With this perſuaſion the court, making the extreme uſe of the power given it by the conſtitution, the means whereby it could more effectually put into execution its treaſonable purpoſes, had procured, through the electoral aſſemblies, on the diſſolution of the firſt legiſlature, thoſe perſons who were moſt devoted to its intereſts to be choſen into the directories of the departments, and had filled, as far as it could without ſuſpicion, the army with thoſe officers of

whoſe

whoſe attachment it had the moſt perfect aſſurance. To give greater facility to theſe operations, it had blinded the public with the diſmiſſion of one ſet of miniſters, and the choice of others, till ſome appearance of its wiſhes to comply with thoſe of the people was manifeſted in the nomination of the patriotic miniſters, Dumourier and Roland. Roland had the ſagacity ſoon to perceive "that there was behind the throne a greater power than the throne itſelf;" but Dumourier was for ſome time longer the dupe. Roland's diſmiſſion was accompanied by a letter addreſſed to the king, which was a model of firmneſs and ſtate integrity; and Dumourier was ſoon after compelled to reſign. Going from the bar of the aſſembly, he obſerved to a friend, that he had little farther to do than to "faire ſon petit pacquet pour aller à Orleans;" but Providence has reſerved him for a

better

better fate; and his ſubſequent conduct has ſhown, that in this inſtance he was more weak than guilty.

Little victories and retreats, ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and the transferring of camps from one place to another, dragged on the campaign, till another expedition, with more ſucceſs, was undertaken againſt Flanders; and a town or two of no great importance fell into the hands of the French. Their retreat from this acquiſition, whilſt the hopes of the people were riſing, was another cauſe of diſcontent, of which the court were little obſervant, ſince it had hitherto ſucceeded ſo well in every plan it had undertaken towards the accompliſhment of its great project. The requiſition for the baniſhment of the refractory clergy, and the formation of a camp near Paris, had been ſet aſide by the veto of the conſtitution; and though the tumult on the 20th of June had given ſome alarm, yet

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it was hoped that no ſuch accidents would happen in future. Paris at length became more violently agitated than ever; and the royaliſts, ſecure of ſucceſs, diſcovered every day more and more of their intentions. The department, ignorant of the extent of this conſpiracy of the court (for La Rochefoucault could not be a traitor), ſupported by La Fayette and a part of the legiſlative aſſembly, by diſmiſſing Petion raiſed the popular indignation and fury to the moſt alarming height. Though the court ſanctioned this diſmiſſion, the aſſembly ſolemnly reinſtated him. The addreſs of La Fayette, to the Legiſlature, againſt the Jacobins, ſtill increaſed this democratic rage. The ſections of Paris, at the bar of the aſſembly, demanded the dethronement of the king. The matter had gone too far for any poſſibility of reconciliation. The court and people were for ſome days in hoſtile preparation againſt each other: the

the 10th of Auguſt arrived, and France was for the time ſaved.

This little detail was neceſſary, to explain why, when an army of Pruſſians, Auſtrians, Heſſians, and Emigrés, to the amount of 100,000 men, were entering the French territories, La Fayette in his camp at Sedan had only 18,000 men to oppoſe them. Dumourier and Dillon were dividing their little force between Maubeuge and Maulde; Cuſtine was ſhut up at Landau; Kellermann at Weiſſembourg; the enemy appeared every where: and whilſt the Heſſians and Emigrants were to paſs the Rhine, the Auſtrians to penetrate into the department of the North, the people of Piedmont to invade the ſouth, and the ariſtocracy to take off the maſk in all the interior parts; the Duke of Brunſwick, with great tranquillity, and unoppoſed, would march directly to Paris. The events of the 10th of Auguſt diſconcerted this well-arranged ſyſtem.

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La Fayette had taken his flight, finding his army incorruptible; but its deplorable ſituation left little hopes of making any effectual ſtand againſt ſo formidable an hoſt. Already had the Duke of Brunſwick entered France. Clairfait was arrived from the Low Countries, and had planted himſelf on the right of the Pruſſian army. A ſecond column of Auſtrians commanded by Hohenloe, one of Emigrants, and another of Heſſians, were in the rear of the Pruſſians. Already had Longwi ſurrendered; and the enemy were preparing to lay ſiege to Verdun or Montmedy, whilſt Luckner had not more than 15,000 men that he could diſpoſe of, without leaving every other place of importance under his direction altogether unprotected. In this perilous ſituation was the French army on the 30th of Auguſt, when the council of war, which Dumouriez aſſembled, acknowledging the impoſſibility of attacking the

enemy in front, agreed on making as powerful a diverſion as poſſible in the Low Countries. But as the execution was too hazardous to be undertaken before it met with the approbation of the executive council, Dumourier made the beſt poſſible diſpoſitions to throw obſtacles in the way of the enemy, to haraſs them; and though he could form no expectation of arreſting their march, he might cauſe its delay, and give time for the executive council to determine what conduct in theſe extreme circumſtances he ought to purſue. So well arranged had this conſpiracy been, that nothing was agitated at this moment, but the queſtion of the arrival of the Pruſſians at Paris. Thoſe who aſſerted the affirmative were the royaliſts who wiſhed, and the cowards who feared it. They founded their opinions on the great reputation of the Duke of Brunſwick, whoſe head was cool and calculating. It was alleged by them, that he had ſettled his plan, and

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was conducting troops well disciplined, whilst the French had only raw recruits, inferior in numbers and in system; that he had agents in every quarter to give him information; that the emigrants who were with him would form a centre around which all the disaffected would arrange themselves; that one or two places being taken, nothing could stop the progress of so immense a force, which would disarm in its march the patriots, arm the disaffected, pillage and destroy the country, seize on every favourable post, hinder the provisioning of Paris, and thus save the trouble of a massacre by previously starving its inhabitants. All this had much the appearance of probability. Alarm and terror sat on many a countenance, but on none more than on some of our countrymen, of whom some wanted to drink the waters of Switzerland, and others the waters of other places; yet no

releaſe from Paris could on any terms be obtained, and they were compelled to await the reſtoration of their health, under circumſtances that added every hour to their newly acquired diſeaſe. This indiſpoſition, however, had ſeized only a few; for thoſe in whom previous real derangement of nerves might have formed ſome excuſe for terror, bore the appearance of the approaching danger with philoſophic fortitude. The women and children at this time were working at the redoubts and fortifications forming round Paris.

The difficulty of his ſituation gave new energies to the mind of Dumourier. He was at this moment to attempt the impoſſible. He had at firſt ventured to diſpute the paſſage of the Meuſe; but this he found was impracticable, as it was fordable in fifty places. The Pruſſians had now inveſted Verdun, and the Auſtrians had taken poſſeſſion of Stenay. General Galbaud was ſent to Verdun with two

battalions; but it was too late; it had ſurrendered; and as no one doubted but that it could hold out for ſome weeks, the conſternation excited by its immediate ſurrender was dreadful. Thoſe who had conſidered the operations of war, had imagined that this late campaign of the Pruſſians would have been nearly finiſhed before they had ſcarcely entered France; for it was beyond all probability that Longwi would have ſurrendered in leſs than three weeks or a month, when the rainy ſeaſon, and an unaccuſtomed climate, would have prevented their farther march.

Under theſe unexpected and cruel circumſtances, Dumourier fell back with his little army to the paſs of Grand Pré, and its poſition became every day more critical. Its whole number was ſcarcely compoſed of more than the ſingle diviſion commanded by General Clairfait, who might have attacked it every inſtant, and

and who leaves us yet to wonder at the French being left in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of this excellent poſt.

No reinforcements had as yet arrived. On the right lay the whole Pruſſian army, in poſſeſſion of Varennes and Clermont, ready to advance, whilſt the Auſtrian general was on the left. Then it was that the genius of Dumourier unfolded itſelf: he determined at once on a plan, romantic at firſt view, but which brought on the Duke of Brunſwick all his misfortunes, and proved the ſalvation of France. Though his army was ſo inconſiderable, he diminiſhed it ſtill farther, and ſent Dillon with a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the famous paſs in the foreſt of Argonne, whilſt he reſolved to ſtand firm, and await the whole force of the enemy in that of Grand Pré. It was inconceivable that the Duke of Brunſwick, in poſſeſſion of Clermont, which is but two leagues from this formid-

able ſpot, ſhould have neglected its ſeizure whilſt there was no oppoſition, or at leaſt none but that of two battalions; or that he ſhould have ſuffered Dillon to paſs unmoleſted, and in ſight of his videttes, through parts of the foreſt that are almoſt impervious, and form an eſtabliſhment which afterwards reſiſted for twenty-five days the attacks of five times his number. When it was too late, he found his error; and after having ſurveyed the ſpot with the King of Pruſſia, from the oppoſite heights; after having attempted it by an attack, and, as it is reported, beſtowed ſome heavy denunciations on his own neglect, he determined to make the tour of the foreſts by Varennes.

It was impoſſible to withſtand this immenſe force with any hopes of ſucceſs: the paſs of Croix aux Bois had been forced, and no ſuccour had yet arrived. To impoſe on the enemy, Dumourier made his whole army light up their fires,

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ſo as to appear the fires of an advanced guard only, whence it might well be imagined that his force was more formidable. At this time the two generals, Dumourier and Dillon, occupied a ſpace of thirty miles, and they had the addreſs to maintain their ſeveral poſts, ſo as to give time for the arrival of reinforcements. The paſs of Grand Pré was, however, forced, and Dumourier was obliged to fall back towards St. Menehould. The Pruſſian army had advanced towards Chalons, and was encamped on the heights of La Lune. The French troops had, however, by this time arrived from Pont-ſur-Sambre. Bournonville with 13,000 men, after raiſing the camp at Maulde, had joined them; and Kellermann, who had been marching from the ſouth, where he had waited for the enemy, ſuppoſing that the Pruſſians would have taken that direction, on this day arrived alſo. What ſeems moſt extraordinary

is, that the Duke of Brunſwick ſhould have delayed his attack till theſe junctions had taken place. The 20th of September ought ever to be held by France in grateful remembrance. The army of Kellermann was attacked by the Pruſſians with a cannonade, which laſted without intermiſſion for fourteen hours. In vain did they ſhew their addreſs in manœuvring; in vain was diſplayed their proverbial Pruſſian diſcipline. During the cannonade, three ſeveral times the Duke attempted to ſurround them, but Dumourier on the right preſented himſelf continually to meet him. The Pruſſians heſitated; for they ſaw how obſtinately bent the French army was on reſiſtance, and heard, as they approached, the cries of the ſoldiers—Vive la Nation! This is the fineſt moment of our lives! This is the hour of vengeance!

This indeed was the important moment—all depended on the firmneſs of Kellermann's

Kellermann's diviſion. This diviſion conſiſted but of 16,000, whilſt the Pruſſians oppoſed to them amounted to three times the number, and it had encamped, on the ground they now occupied, only the preceding evening, after forced marches day and night, and in weather and through roads the moſt deteſtable. Had they ſhrunk or been ſhaken, the buſineſs might here have ended: the ſuperiority of Pruſſian tactics would have carried the day; and the armies brought to oppoſe their progreſs would have oppoſed it in vain. The event of this day was ſufficient to convince the Duke of Brunſwick that he was miſtaken with reſpect to the ſize and quality of the reſiſtance he had to meet with; for after an attack which, for its length and fierceneſs, had ſcarcely a parallel, he beheld the French generals preparing for another, by forming poſitions in which he durſt not any farther attempt them. The ſituation of the

French army was, nevertheleſs, ſingular and perilous. At Clermont, on one ſide, the enemy had 20,000 men; Varennes was in their poſſeſſion; at Grand Pré they had eſtabliſhed their hoſpitals; and on the heights of La Lune, interrupting the road from Chalons, they had formed their camp, which was too ſtrongly fortified to fear any attack, however formidable. Theſe immenſe armies were on the eaſtern, weſtern, and northern ſides of the French, which conſiſted but of half their number; and the ſouthern ſide was worth almoſt another ally to the Pruſſians, ſince, from the impracticability of the roads, it was of as little ſervice to the French, as if it had been blocked up by an army. Thus ſurrounded, without any farther reſources, or the appearance of receiving any, ſince the communication with Chalons was cut off by the camp on the road, one would have thought that all again

was

was loſt, and that the French army would have been ſtarved into ſubmiſſion, compelled to fight to a ruinous diſadvantage, or obliged to retreat at the only opening left them, with the loſs of all their baggage and artillery, and part, at leaſt, of their forces. Though Dumourier, whoſe mind always kept pace with circumſtances, had preſerved the confidence, and had the faculty of inſpiring his army with ſtill greater; though Kellermann had taken poſitions which rendered an attack on him extremely hazardous; though Dillon might have procured a retreat for his diviſion, and food for his army; though, through indefatigable labour, a road was at length effected, by which proviſions could be ſupplied, as thoſe who furniſhed them overcame almoſt inſurmountable difficulties; though the ſoldiers ſuffered without murmuring, and, if devoted to deſtruction, would have made the effects of their deſpair felt by

the ſurrounding tyrants; yet, that the French were ſaved at this eventful moment, thanks to the genius of Liberty,—eternal thanks to that kind Providence which never ceaſes to watch over the beſt intereſts of mankind, for its interpoſition in their favour; an interpoſition which, though following in the order of natural events, leaves no leſs impreſſion on the reflecting mind of gratitude and praiſe.

The poſt now obliges me to finiſh. On my return from Dumourier's camp to-morrow, I ſhall continue this little detail, which I have interrupted whilſt I have been ſurveying, from the heights of the town, the army coming down from the adjoining hills. The country around is highly pictureſque, and the preſent ſcene, with the ſentiment that accompanied it, gave it a much more lively intereſt. This evening Kellermann's army took poſſeſſion of the ground which the

others

others had juſt quitted. There is ſomething pleaſant in viewing the good order introduced by the preſent rational diſcipline (the ſavage Pruſſian mode of breaking-in of ſoldiers having ceaſed here with the ancient deſpotiſm), and the cheerfulneſs with which, whilſt the French pitched their tents, formed their kitchens, and prepared their food, the chorus of national ſongs was heard along the line in every direction. An afternoon of fair weather had ſucceeded torrents of rain, which have been pouring down for ſome days paſt; and the ſun, ſo long a ſtranger, after drying their tents, and enlivening their ſpirits, ſeemed to have taken leave of the world in thorough good-humour. As the camp was arranged on the ſides of correſponding hills, the view was ſingularly romantic. The diſtant and numerous fires brought forcibly to my mind a ſimilar ſcene in Homer. My re-

verie had nearly coſt me my liberty; for, delighted with all around me, I was wandering on without noticing the retreat which had been founded, when I was arreſted; and, had I been any other than an Engliſhman, ſhould not have been releaſed without undergoing the formality of an examination at the head-quarters. As I ſeemed perfectly indifferent about this threatened proceſs, and acquainted the officer with the immediate ſubject of my reverie, he undertook my releaſe, on my ſolemn aſſurance, that I had no diſpoſition to give any information to the enemy, nor any views hoſtile to the welfare of the republic.

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LETTER III.

Clermont, October 8.
First Year of the Republic.

WE had intended to viſit Dumouri-er's camp this morning at Autry, a little village about a league diſtant from St. Menehould, but we have changed our project to a walk in the foreſt of Argonne; and, tempted by the intereſt of the ſcene, and the fineneſs of the morning, we have rambled on four leagues to Clermont. Before our departure, I received the Engliſh journals, with the account which the ambaſſador at Bruſſels had tranſmitted to our court, of the unconditional ſurrender of Dumourier's army to the Pruſſians, who, it ſeems, had completely ſurrounded them, and were arrived within twelve leagues of Paris, with the preciſe and determinate intention

intention of the Duke of Brunſwick, to dine at the Tuilleries on the firſt of October.

I have already obſerved, that the ignorance of the Duke of Brunſwick in not knowing, or his more faulty neglect in not ſeizing on, this paſs, was the cauſe of all his ſubſequent misfortunes. Finding, when it was too late, that this important poſt had been occupied by Dillon, after an indeciſion of a day and a half, he reſolved, in order to regain his road to Paris, to make the circuit of the foreſt by Varennes and Grand Pré, a route of nearly fifty miles, which he did not accompliſh till the 20th of September; when, in taking poſſeſſion of this poſt, which was for ſome days in his power, by a march of only four leagues, on an excellent road, he might have reached St. Menehould and his preſent poſition on the fourth. This delay not only gave time to Dumourier and the other generals to

to form their junction, which they had but a day or two before his arrival happily effected, but was the means alſo of involving himſelf and his army in inextricable difficulties. After he had deſcribed this ſemicircle, and during his march had been impeded by numerous obſtacles, he found himſelf in a barren country, without wood or water, and in a ſeaſon uncommonly inclement, both from rain and cold. From the length of his march, the difficulty of procuring proviſions and other ſtores was conſiderably increaſed; and the rain which had poured down in torrents ſince his departure, had ſo ſwoln the rivers which he had left behind, and deſtroyed the ways, that his army was without bread for nearly four days. The intemperance of the ſoldiers in eating fruit, to which they had not been accuſtomed, laid the foundation of a fatal diſeaſe; and in a country where the only relief they could obtain from the

the inclemency of the weather, arose from the fires made with the scanty trees that grew on the highway side, it was not wonderful that their camp should be found one vast cemetery. It seemed as if Providence was disposed, by its own dispensations to leave the French no foes to combat.

In this situation was the Duke of Brunswick, when he proposed a cessation of arms, and invited Dumourier to an amicable conference. He now saw, with all the force of conviction, the impracticability of proceeding one step farther towards Paris. Instead of divisions among the people, he saw, except in the treasons or terrors of Longwi and Verdun, but one sentiment; that of adhesion to the legislative assembly, and abhorrence of his manifestoes and himself. Instead of marching unmolested to Paris, he found a little army of a few thousands, though disorganized by traitors, affrighted neither at the number, nor discipline,

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nor threats, nor barbarities of 100,000 ſatellites of deſpotiſm, but diſputing with him every poſt, and making every where a formidable ſtand. Inſtead of ſeeing the regular troops crowding to his ſtandard, as he was led to believe, he felt the full force of their courage in the oppoſite direction. Inſtead of being hailed with univerſal acclaim as the ſaviour of France, as he was flattered in the expectation, he beheld on every ſide curſes and execrations; and heard, inſtead of preparations to receive him at Paris, only the ſolemn and thrice-ſworn reſolves of its brave defenders to bury him and themſelves in one vaſt and common ruin. Thus circumſtanced, he endeavoured to procure, by negociation, that which he had come to enforce by arms. All that paſſed in theſe interviews is not yet, and probably never will be, publicly known. This interval gave time to the Proſſians to bury their numerous dead, and to prepare for

for their meditated retreat; but it gave time alſo to Dumourier to receive freſh ſupplies and reinforcements, and to procure inſtructions from the executive council reſpecting the conduct he ſhould purſue under ſuch new and unexpected circumſtances. The uſual civilities, which in theſe more civilized times the laws of war permit during the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, took place here. Dumourier ſent, as a preſent to the king of Pruſſia, twelve pounds of ſugar, as much of coffee, and, what had more of ſarcaſm than benevolence, twelve loaves of bread. The laſt were returned, with the aſſurance that great plenty reigned throughout the camp, and that the kindneſs of the intention only could be accepted. The Duke of Brunſwick returned the civility in two bottles of tokay; and though it was agreed not to diſcuſs political ſubjects, yet, as the compauy was informed that it was the king

of

of Pruſſia's birth-day, Dumourier obſerved, that, though he could have wiſhed to have found the king in better circumſtances, yet, ſuch as they were, he would drink his health. This complaiſance on the part of the French general provoked Manſtein, the king's confident, to propoſe a toaſt in his turn. "I give you," ſaid Manſtein, anticipating by the pleaſantneſs of his countenance the applauſe he ſhould acquire by the extent of his liberality, "The People of France." "Hold," cried Dumourier, "we have now a name for our people; the health, if you will allow the amendment, of the republic of France." "You jeſt, ſurely," ſaid Manſtein. "Here are the diſpatches juſt this moment arrived; look at the date and title." Manſtein changed countenance; he ſilently put down the glaſs, and left the room. It was hinted in ſubſequent conferences, that if the general would join in the reſtitution

tution of the king, nay if any place quelconque could be procured for him, other matters ſhould be accommodated to his entire ſatisfaction; but it was anſwered, that any future propoſitions of that ſort would be regarded as inſults, and that, finally, no terms could be diſcuſſed, till the French territory was freed from its invaders.

During this parley the commiſſaries arrived from the Convention. The choice of them was judicious. Carra joins to a Roman appearance a republican ſoul. He has made acquirements in literature of various kinds; but has bent his mind chiefly towards the acquiſition of that knowledge which he has thought beſt fitted for the promotion of the happineſs of mankind. He ſpeaks with tolerable fluency the Engliſh language, and has ſtudied with great attention our beſt writers on the ſubject of government; ſuch as Milton, Sydney, Harrington, and

and Locke. The inſtruction, or, as Mr. Burke would call it, the corruption of the ſoldiery, has been his chief aim; for men are no longer ſlaves, but when they are ignorant. His letters to the army have been read with great avidity; and ſo far have they been from corrupting the ſoldiery, or ſpoiling them for their trade, that thoſe who have been the beſt informed, are always remarked as being the moſt orderly and diſciplined. Our common acquaintance, M. de Sillery, I need not deſcribe to you—To an elegant taſte for letters, and an ardour in the cauſe of liberty, to which he has made many ſacrifices, he joins all that is pleaſing in ariſtocratical manners. When theſe commiſſaries arrived with the decree of the Convention, declaring that monarchy was aboliſhed in France, and that in future the government ſhould be republican, it was judged right that the decree ſhould be read to the whole army,

who

who were to be drawn out to receive it. This was accordingly done; and the Pruſſians on the oppoſite hills were ſpectators of the whole arrangement. The Duke of Brunſwick might have hoped that ſome compromiſe at leaſt would take place; that the National Convention, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the country, with ſo immenſe an army of enemies in its boſom, would have propoſed ſome terms honourable to themſelves, and leſs diſgraceful than unconditional retreat to him. He might have hoped that the name of king, though unpopular amongſt the enlightened of the people, had yet its hold in the prejudices of ſoldiers, taught at all times to view him as the ſole object of military adoration.

Judge, then, of his aſtoniſhment at the deadly blow given to all his expectations, when he ſaw the whole army, as by an electrical impulſe, ſtretching out

their hands in the accuſtomed form of taking the oath, and holding up their hats on their bayonets, while the hills reſounded with ſhouts and acclamations, which he ſoon diſcovered to be the cries of Vive la loi—Vive la nation—Vive la convention nationale—Vive la republique! Whatever hopes he had before entertained, this laſt hint effectually diſſipated. He gave orders for retreat, but firſt left a manifeſto behind him, which, from its extreme ſillineſs and impotent menace, could only be meant to make us forget the unſkilfulneſs of the general in the folly of the negotiator.

The retreat accordingly began by the paſs of Grand Pré; but it was conducted but ſlowly, ſo oppreſſed were the Pruſſians with the dying and the dead. They are on their march to Verdun; on which place Kellermann and Dillon's armies conjointly are to make an attack. It is very probable, however, that this event will not take

take place, as it ſeems to be the intention of the Duke of Brunſwick to haſten from the French territory as ſpeedily as he can; as his retreat is made more uninterruptedly than policy could warrant, unleſs Dumourier, in paſſing into Flanders with his army, has made ſome ſecret treaty with the King of Pruſſia, which is not improbable; for he could not otherwiſe have neglected this opportunity of carrying both him and his general priſoners to Paris.

Who can look back on the occurrences of the laſt month, without conſidering it for ſome moments as a dream, and exclaiming with the poet,

"Viſions of glory! ſpare my aching ſight."

But a month ſince how many faces were clothed with terror, and hearts beating with apprehenſion! Thoſe noble and ſublime ſacrifices which every day witneſſed, were they not often made to

deſpair

deſpair as well as to patriotiſm? How often did we hear repeated the dreadful propoſition of going before the enemy, and laying waſte the country through which they had to paſs; and if theſe efforts ſhould be unavailing to hinder their approach, how ſtern was the reſolve, that Paris ſhould be ſurrendered only when its ruins ſhould become the common grave of its enemies and defenders! Preſſed by ſuch a hoſt of formidable enemies without, to what horrid lengths of deſpotiſm were they driven —to deeds which have no name, and which muſt no more be remembered!

Poſt after poſt now fell into the hands of the enemy, and the people were accuſtomed to ſee nothing but treaſon where truſt had been repoſed. Deſpair gave wings to their apprehenſions; and their ſuſpicions aſſured them, that, in every inſtance of retreat, or fruitleſs attack, the army was ever on the point of being

captured, becauſe the intereſt of the enemy and of their own generals was the ſame.

I need not give any colouring to the various ſcenes of terror, deſpondence, ferocity, courage, enthuſiaſm; of all that is dreadful and ſublime; of all that can intereſt the feelings, or ſtrike the humane heart, which we then beheld around us. Hope at this moment ſeemed to have fled: liſtleſſneſs and indifference about the fate of France had baniſhed from our minds that concern and anxiety which had hitherto ſo much intereſted and enlivened us. We beheld her ſinking into unfathomable depths, and had laid our account for a long train of evils—not to ourſelves only, but to every friend of liberty throughout the world. But how has a little month reverſed this gloomy ſcene! All then was loſt to the French, except the conſciouſneſs of deſerving a better deſtiny—all

has

has now been gained, which the moſt extravagant in wiſhes can deſire. Was not the ſouth, in all our apprehenſions, given up to the King of Sardinia?—Behold them in poſſeſſion of all his territory on this ſide the Alps. Were not the confederate chiefs of the German empire in the expectation and the act of overrunning and diſmembering the richeſt provinces?—See ſtate after ſtate, biſhopricks, electorates, and principalities—ſeats of prieſts and princes falling into their hands. Was not the imperious Houſe of Auſtria in more than imagination adding to her fertile and rich domains, on this ſide of the Rhine, the long line of coaſt on the northern part of France? Behold them chaſing its hordes from the land, and about to give freedom to thoſe dominions by joining them in alliance with their own. Were not the Pruſſians to have been at this moment in Paris, bringing back to

its former ſplendour the court, with all its ancient pomp and revelry? See them ſeeking their ſafety in diſgraceful flight, and grateful for their eſcape from half their number of foes; whilſt the unhappy monarch, whoſe tyranny they were to reſtore, is transferred from his court to a priſon. What ranges of gibbets were "to have blackened all the way" with Jacobins, and patriots of every deſcription—the juſt objects of royal vengeance, for crimes which it never could have pardoned! See aſſembled thoſe patriots, re-clothed with power by the people, declaring the kingdom a republic, about to eſtabliſh a ſtill more popular conſtitution, and ordering the immediate trial of him whom they were to have felt as a tyrant, but who is now ſunk into contempt with them as a traitor.

Though the intereſting ſcenes that were paſſing before our eyes at Paris had occaſionally leſſened our apprehenſions; though

though the reſources that were continually preſenting themſelves had at ſome moments abated our fears; though we beheld multitudes pouring up from the provinces, and the roads on each ſide the capital covered with artillery and ſoldiers of various deſcriptions; though in every quarter of the city we beheld all the ties of ſocial and domeſtic life broken; wives parting with their huſbands, young women exhorting their lovers, and mothers partaking of the ardour of their ſons; though ſuch an enthuſiaſm was excited as had never before been felt, and France, as the events have proved, was never ſo formidable; yet the occurrence of ſuch events had never entered our imaginations. Here, then, in its full energy, was diſplayed that moral force which ſuperſedes phyſical courage, and diſſipates all calculation. Such was the force which led the handful of Athenians,

ans, but half known to liberty, to drive back the armies and fleets of invading tyrants; ſuch that cauſed the mountaineers of Switzerland, and the traffickers of the Low Countries, after ages of bloody perſecution and intolerable chains, to triumph over their reſpective oppreſſors; and ſuch as gave us a leſſon in America, which we ought long to remember, if it be poſſible for nations to profit by any example.

It is not generally known the extent of the obligation which France owes to her generals, or the important ſervice which the poſſeſſion of this fortunate Thermopylæ has rendered to the republic. Preſſed on almoſt every ſide, an ordinary commander would have buried himſelf for ſecurity in the depths of thoſe foreſts; but the ardent mind of Dumourier conceived at once the project, which the danger of the attempt did not hinder

him

him from executing. I have called it romantic: it certainly was daring; for it was beyond all expectation that the Prussians should not have seized on this passage; and the march thither was attended with difficulties and dangers, the hazard of which, on any other occasion, with even a much greater probability of success, would scarcely have been justifiable. This pass, so memorable in future history, is in the midst of the forest, which ranges over a space of almost 45 or 50 miles. After passing through the orchards, gardens, and vineyards, which surround St. Menehould, we entered the woods, and came to this formidable spot. A deep valley, with hills rising rapidly on each side, runs through the whole length, with defiles at intervals, capable of being easily guarded. In order to cross this valley, an enemy must force those passes, penetrate woods, and climb mountains nearly perpendi-

cular, covered alternately with rocks and bruſhwood; or, as the Pruſſian army did, make the tour of the foreſts, lengthening the march of its proviſions and ſtores, and rendering itſelf liable, in ſuch an unknown and unexplored country, to be cut off by ſcouts and detachments ſallying from the woods, againſt which it would be impoſſible to make any defence. On the moſt important part of theſe defiles, which is the great road leading from Clermont to Paris, Dillon had formed his camp; and on the mountains near and around it had conſtructed his works. Theſe precipices overlook the country ſtretching away to Clermont, whoſe mountain, called the Vache, terminates the view in front, whilſt on each ſide, ſave where a few cottages, and meadow grounds cleared from the wood, diverſify the ſcene, nothing preſents itſelf but foreſts riſing over each other in ſingular and picturesque direc-

tions.

tions. After repoſing ourſelves, and feeling ſomething more in the proſpect than Gilpin would deſcribe, we came down the mountain to a river which runs along the valley, and which alſo had been made to contribute its part to the general defence, in being dammed up at the bridge, and overflowing the adjacent plain. The little village of Iſlettes, juſt beyond it, was defended by a regular line of fortifications; of which our countryman, General Money, had the command. Here it was that the Duke of Brunſwick met with his firſt reſiſtance; and here, it is ſaid, unavailingly lamented his want of precaution or knowledge. Several attacks were tried, but the enemy could make no impreſſion; and here it was, as I have before ſtated, that he, on his march to Grand Pré, laid the foundation of all his ſorrows.

The remainder of the road to Clermont was not leſs intereſting: the ſame undulation of foreſt continued, though more diverſified; and the rich tints of autumn added to the beauty of the ſcene. The town itſelf conſiſts but of one ſtreet, wretchedly built; but the mountain which hangs over it affords a moſt magnificent proſpect—not only of the immenſe foreſts that range on each ſide, but of the country around Verdun, and along the Meuſe to Stenay. On the top of this hill, which, when fortified, held a long ſiege againſt Condé, as the hiſtorians of the place informed us, and was reduced by hunger only, is built a chapel, conſecrated to St. Denis; a picture of whom is drawn at a formidable length, notwithſtanding the loſs of his head, which the ſaint is carrying with great gravity on a bible, or book of homilies, under his arm. The journey

which

which this holy man took, with his head literally beneath his ſhoulders, like Othello's monſters, is amongſt the moſt ſplendid of the miracles of the Romiſh faith. I forget how many leagues he travelled in this ſingular ſtyle, but it is indifferent as to the reality of the miracle; it having been already obſerved, "que c'eſt le premier pas qui coute." A picture of the Virgin hung by his ſide, ſurrounded by ſaints, as I conjecture from their coſtume, otherwiſe their looks would have left us at ſome loſs to have deviſed the nature of their devotion. On the ſide of this mountain is built the pariſh-church, into which we entered whilſt maſs was performing, at which ſix prieſts aſſiſted; the whole buſineſs of which could certainly be done as well by one, and leave as much religion as is neceſſary to the ſtate, at a ſixth part only of the expence.

We had imagined, from the great number of handſome females whom we ſaw here, that they had aſſembled from various parts of the province to ſave themſelves from the ordinary outrages of German ſoldiery. We communicated to them our conjectures, and congratulated them, from the pleaſantneſs of their looks, on the good fortune of their eſcape. They accompanied their anſwer with an acknowledgement for the civility of the enquiry, and aſſured us that they were all natives of the Clermontois; but with reſpect to the Heſſians, who had been maſters of it for ſome weeks, they had much more to apprehend from an attachment to their property than their perſons. Nothing that could be taken away with any convenience, was left by theſe pillagers. The dreſs of the ladies had made part of their prey; and no linen would have been found in the diſ-

trict, had not the vicinity of the foreſt made its concealment eaſy.

We are juſt returned from a ramble with a party of officers, who were our meſſmates at St. Menehould, and who are going acroſs the country to join their reſpective corps at Dumourier's camp beyond Grand Pré. We have agreed to take our farewell dinner together, and then to return to our former ſtation on the other ſide of the foreſt. What route we ſhall next take is not yet determined, as we have juſt learnt that Dumourier is making haſty ſteps towards Flanders; and if we are to viſit his camp, we muſt be very alert and expeditious. The main army of the Pruſſians is within a league or two.

Adieu.

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LETTER IV.

Varennes, October 10.
First Year of the Republic.

HAVING gained farther intelligence that the army would be encamped on the morrow evening near Grand Pré, we accepted the offer made us by our companions, and agreed to accompany them thither. As under the denomination of ſpoils came every thing that could readily be removed, horſes and carriages in the accuſtomed way were luxuries to be had at no price; and as thoſe of St. Menehould had been previouſly engaged to remove the perſons and effects of the ſtaff-officers and their attendants, we had been compelled to leave our voiture there, and to convey ourſelves to Clermont in the independent manner I have declared.

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After conſiderable exertion, and a little of the uſe of that influence which the wearers of red coats and ſwords are too much in the habit of exerciſing, we procured a waggon and two horſes to carry us and our baggage to Varennes. As we were ignorant of the country we had to traverſe, not knowing whether the enemy had altogether abandoned it, and had ſome preſentiment that the accommodations we ſhould meet with could not at any rate be of the beſt ſort, one of our officers, to whom the ſlighteſt vacuity of ſtomach was infinitely more dreadful than all the artillery of the Pruſſians, and whoſe firſt, and laſt, and moſt earneſt thoughts and apprehenſions were placed on the meat that periſheth, had taken care that, in the liſt of our effects, this ſort of ſupply ſhould not be wanting. He was remarkably well qualified for the poſt he had undertaken; and without his attention we ſhould, in the

the regions of ſcarcity we have hitherto paſſed, have fared not very ſumptuouſly. At our former quarters he was commandant of the kitchen after the firſt day; and never was any thing better regulated. A quarrel now and then aroſe between him and the ſtated profeſſors, but he had always the addreſs to carry his point; for, as his opponents were commonly females, he had the art of terrifying, when he had not the means to perſuade. We had committed to him the care of our repaſt at Clermont; the preparation of which, for want of his immediate ſuperintendence, we found, on our return from a ramble, not only neglected, but in no probable condition of at all taking place. It was neceſſary to ſeek our proveditor; and knowing that the feeling next his appetite was his love of reſt, we were certain he could not have wandered far from the kitchen. After ſome ſearch, we found him amongſt the crowd

crowd in the church; and whiſpering to him our apprehenſions, he ſtarted from his knees, mingling a number of ſmall oaths with his prayers, to the aſtoniſhment of the religious around him; and having hurried from the church with more than uſual velocity, he returned to his devotions, after whiſpering to us acroſs the church, what, from its loudneſs, could be no ſecret to the reſt of the congregation, that we ſhould be ſerved in half an hour at fartheſt.

Our road to Varennes lay along the ſkirts of the foreſt, in the direct route of the Pruſſian army. We reached it after the evening had cloſed; as the new mode of travelling we had adopted did not favour much of expedition. We found here frequent marks of military violence, in the demolition of the doors and windows of ariſtocratical and democratical houſes; which had fared according to the principles of the occupiers of the

the place, who had been alternately patriots and emigrés. Theſe laſt, with their allies, had, to the great joy of the inhabitants, taken their final leave; and the town was about to reſume its accuſtomed tranquillity. The poſſeſſion of this place was anticipated by the emigrés with great ſatisfaction; for, as it was here that the ci-devant king was arreſted in his flight, nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of the inhabitants and the raſure of the houſes was intended. Thoſe of the inhabitants who were concerned in this event had taken their flight, and carried with them all that was valuable, or even moveable. The policy of the Pruſſian commander checked theſe atrocious intentions; and finding none left whoſe puniſhment would have anſwered any good purpoſe, they ſatisfied their vengeance in the manner I have related; taking care, according to the uſage of predatory war,

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to plunder whenever they found the opportunity, or any thing worth taking, whether it belonged to thoſe who were friendly or hoſtile to their cauſe. The perſon at whoſe houſe we have taken up our abode, was the firſt who contrived and executed the means of this celebrated detention. To him the poſtmaſter of St. Menehould, who had preceded the king by a much nearer road acroſs the foreſt, communicated his ſuſpicions; and before any alarm was given, the paſſage through the town, by the overturning of a waggon at the bridge, was completely ſecured. When the king arrived, after changing horſes at Clermont, he was ſtopped by eight of the national guard, notwithſtanding the threats of Bouillé's military, who were there to receive him; and the commander, having pointed two pieces of cannon without either powder or balls, the king was made priſoner without further reſiſtance.

ance. He wore, they told us, his uſual appearance of tranquillity and indifference. The queen was at firſt extremely agitated; and finding every offer to procure their deliverance rejected, her menaces and flatteries being equally diſregarded, ſhe burſt into a paſſion of tears; but ſoon recovered her uſual dignity. The tocſin brought into Varennes ſuch an immenſe crowd of armed men, that all hopes of eſcape were vain; and Bouillé took flight. The national guard who arreſted, conducted their priſoners to Paris; and if experience could have made the ſlighteſt impreſſion, the king would have then learnt how little his preſent influence and conſideration weighed againſt the law, and the will of the people. When the royal family arrived at Paris, inſtead of hearing, as they expected, on all ſides curſes and imprecations, the moſt profound and dignified ſilence, infinitely more reproachful, was preſerved.

preſerved. The fears of the captives were nevertheleſs extreme; for having twice before occaſioned a ſimilar cavalcade, and knowing how ferocious the people are ſometimes in their judgments, it was not impoſſible, conſidering the horrors to which the kingdom would have been delivered had the plan ſucceeded, and the numerous hypocriſies and perjuries of which the court had already been guilty, that ſummary juſtice would have been executed, without waiting the final proceſs of the law. On their arrival at the gate of the palace, this terror was at its height: the immenſe multitude that ſurrounded it, and filled the gardens, wore a menacing and formidable aſpect. A reinforcement of deputies was ordered by the aſſembly to conduct them through this throng. The king, preceded by one of theſe protectors, walked firſt, with his accuſtomed nonchalance. The preſs of the crowd

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on the queen terrified her much; her fears painted to her a thouſand bayonets; ſhe uttered two or three times cries, and made geſtures expreſſive of her terror, and requeſted Mr. De S——, who was her immediate attendant, and from whom I had the relation, to addreſs the people to ſave her. The reſt followed in order, and were treated with the ſame reſpect. As ſoon as the king entered the ſaloon of the Tuilleries, after ordering his uſual refreſhments, he obſerved, that he had had a very warm journey, which he undertook merely to ſee how the people liked the revolution; of whoſe attachment he was now convinced, as well as of their goodneſs. The queen, with the dauphin in her arms, walked about, alternately calm and agitated. The reſt of the family were in tears; and of thoſe who attended them, one ate, one talked, and the other wept. All that followed makes a part of hiſtory. The policy of

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the ſteps taken by the Conſtituent Aſſembly was then doubted; the preſent circumſtances of the country, and the ſituation of this unhappy man, leave it no longer uncertain. Had he been ſuffered to eſcape, or had the Aſſembly immediately ſent him from the kingdom, France would have had no more enemies than it has now to combat, and the opinion of the world would have been on their ſide; whereas his baniſhment now, if ſuch be his ſentence, will be regarded only as an act of farther rebellion, and the powers of Europe, which are hoſtile to liberty, will find ſome apology in forming alliances againſt it.

The retreat of the Pruſſians has brought back from the woods the fugitive inhabitants, but the plate and linen are ſtill emigrated; for even the ſhadow of a Heſſian is dreaded, between whom and plunder there ſeems a natural affinity. In ſome parts, the deepeſt foreſts have been

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the only dwelling of theſe Varennois, where they conſtructed huts with the branches of trees, and what other materials they could find to ſhelter themſelves from the inclemency of the weather. The wife of our hoſt, a delicate young woman, and handſome as a Clermontoiſe, with her little infant, has had no other dwelling for a month paſt. The fear of greater misfortunes, ſhe tells me, has made her bear theſe inconveniences with firm reſolution; but the frequent removal of their little habitation, and beds of damp ſtraw, have occaſioned her, and many of the female fugitives, indiſpoſitions which will not be readily removed. The inhabitants have made a little fête this afternoon, to teſtify their joy at this deliverance, and plant again the Tree of Liberty; but we arrived too late to ſhare in the ceremony. What we could we did: our proveditor made his beſt arrangements, and ſurpriſed us with the plenty and elegance

gance of his entertainment. We forgot for a moment our uſual ſobriety, in patriotic toaſts and ſentiments, and retired without a ſingle fear, either of emigrés or Pruſſians. The linen, I obſerved, had not yet returned, and of courſe this part of our accommodation was in the ſtyle of the country. Fatigue is not delicate; and we ſhould have ſlept profoundly, beyond even the interruption of dreams, had not ſome miſchievous demon, three hours before day-break, alarmed us with the cry, that the enemy were at the gates. As I had not undreſſed myſelf, I was prepared for combat or flight in an inſtant: my fellow-traveller, whoſe toilette occupied two hours each day, though he is very remote from a beau, was arranged in two minutes. He was decidedly for flight, urged by two motives; one, the having an opportunity of aſſiſting beauty in diſtreſs; for our hoſteſs, but half dreſſed,

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and in a paroxyſm of terror, was preſſing cloſe to her boſom her little child, heedleſs of the means of making her eſcape; the other was, the fear of being hanged by his countrymen, as he was a Pruſſian and a patriot. Leaving him to dreſs the child, and comfort the mother, whilſt the huſband was preparing the vehicle for their conveyance, and our quarter-maſter buſied in blowing up the embers, probably to provide for his breakfaſt, we repaired to the town-hall, after ſending round two of our companions to alarm the guard and ſummon the municipality. This laſt had not yet entered on its functions. With the aſſiſtance therefore of the ſecretary, who was too old to eſcape, and the beadle, who added a lameneſs of fifty years to the infirmity of the laſt, after ſending off the treaſure of the town, which had juſt been brought back, we began to make a procès-verbal of our terror. Having adjuſted this civil concern, we began

began to review the ſtate of our military forces, whilſt we diſpatched couriers to inform us of the ſtate of that of the enemy. Our little army was ſoon aſſembled, which, for its ſize and appearance, would ſcarcely have been looked at by a Pruſſian battalion, had it not lately been in the habit of flying before ſuch light ſoldiery. The only officer of the national guard that could be found, and who had been choſen ſerjeant for his numerous military qualifications, but who, by his ordinary profeſſion, was more accuſtomed to mow the chins of the Varennois than ſcalp the Pruſſians, had ceded the command of the garriſon to the ſuperior ſkill and rank of our chief. The collection was ſo truly ſingular and comic, that, though our new commandant would have feared to riſk a combat with heroes of this aſſortment, my reverence for the cauſe, and alſo for the courage of theſe honeſt people, hinders me from indulging

in the deſcription. Whilſt, however, the preparations for flight were going forward, and the moſt terrified of the female citizens had begun the retreat; whilſt we were deliberating whether the bridge ſhould be barricaded, or whether we ſhould admit the Pruſſians into the town, and then ſurround them, and take them all priſoners, meſſengers arrived in ſucceſſion, informing us, that the enemy's troops had altered their direction, and were going off to Verdun by another road. We diſcerned them by our glaſſes on the hills at day-break, and we were very thankful that they had taken leave of us without calling.

It proved to be the rear of the Pruſſians, who were followed by the advanced guard of Kellermann's army, which we met at Grand Pré a few hours after. Thither we went, having adjuſted all our affairs at Varennes, with the hope of finding Dumourier's camp in the neighbourhood. But his marches were more

rapid

rapid than ours; for he had gone forward the preceding day to Vouziers, a village in the route of the Auſtrian column, about three or four leagues diſtant. This was the ſpot where Dumourier, with his little army, dared to oppoſe the mighty torrent; and had he been at all aſſiſted, he might have oppoſed it with more effect. The paſs at La Croix, in which the Prince de Ligne was killed, though it was bravely contended by the French, who twice repulſed the Auſtrians, was at length yielded to the ſuperior force of the enemy. There has been circulated through the army a letter, found in the pocket of this prince, deſcribing in very ſtrong terms the diſtreſs to which they were driven, and the deſpair of either accompliſhing their object, or even returning. "Inſtead of welcome and greetings, as we were led to expect," ſays he, "we find in every face a foe, troops of the line who beat us, national guards that

ſtand our briſkeſt fire, and peaſants who aſſaſſinate us." This letter may be one of the ſtratagems of war, ma ſe non è vero, è ben trovato, and has had conſiderable effect on the ſoldiery. The abandonment of the poſt at Grand Pré followed the other. This village has nothing that diſtinguiſhes it from other villages, except a magnificent caſtle belonging to M. de Semonville, which the Pruſſians had converted into an hoſpital.

Dumourier ſtates the mortality here much too high: it was, nevertheleſs, dreadful, according to the report of the inhabitants, whoſe ſole occupation, during the time the army remained, was that of digging graves, and burying the dead. To this office they were compelled by their conquerors, the effects of whoſe diſcipline were viſible here in a variety of inſtances. The caſtle, independently of the injury it had received from being uſed as an hoſpital, had been

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moſt wantonly diſmantled. Not only had its rich furniture been torn in pieces, the fragments of which remained ſtrewed around, but the pictures, painted roofs, ſtatues, and ornamented windows, had equally been the ſpoil of the licentious ſoldiery. Nothing could be more magnificent than the appearance of this chateau, which is built on a mountain that commands an extenſive view over a country rich and variegated on almoſt every ſide, but more particularly intereſting on that which looks towards the foreſt of Argonne; along the ſkirts of which runs in meanders the river, which, flowing at the bottom, forms one of the difficulties of the paſs. The hills which riſe up from the river on the ſide of the caſtle, are clothed with vines to the ſummit; and this might have been the ſeaſon of the vintage, had not the ill-regulated appetites of the ſoldiers ſpoiled the owners of their harveſt. This caſtle,

ſeems to have been founded in the height of the feudal period, if we may judge from its ſpacious courts, formidable gates, portcullis, deep moats, and lofty battlements: and here, all that one meets with of deſcription in hiſtory, romance, or novels, of chiefs who, with a thouſand valiant knights, lorded it over the domain, at war or in league with other chiefs, reſiſting power, or aiding enterpriſe, according to their enmity or alliance; or in days of feſtival, whatever we read of tilts and tournaments,

"Where throngs of knights, and barons bold,
"In weeds of peace high triumphs hold,
"With ſtore of ladies whoſe bright eyes
"Rain influence, and judge the prize
"Of wit, or arms;"

might have found its prototype. Its external magnificence ſeemed fitted to defy all ordinary force, and therefore had ſuffered

fered but little from the depredations of its laſt poſſeſſors, who left it at their departure ſo diſmantled and loathſome in other reſpects, that it will require the ſtorms of winter, and all the purifying breezes of many a ſpring, to diſſipate the murky air that taints and infects it. Leaving this country, the Duke of Brunſwick entered on thoſe barren uninhabited plains where famine came in aid of diſeaſe to complete the ruin of his project. He meaſured back his ſteps through this ſame paſs, in his retreat to Verdun; but I have not been able yet to learn why he was ſuffered to make it ſo unmoleſted.

I have obſerved ſomewhat freely on the conduct of the Duke of Brunſwick. The large maſs of reputation he had treaſured up, without much deſert, as far as I have had the means of learning, both as a general and a negotiator, this unfortunate

fortunate campaign has completely diſſipated. He had the character of being a man of information and benevolence: but the events of this ſummer, added to the liſt of crimes of which he has been guilty againſt the cauſe of liberty, and the rights of mankind at other periods, have contributed very much to ſhake our belief. That he has been equally with his maſter the dupe of the emigrant princes and the houſe of Auſtria, is well known. The only reparation he can make for this ſcandalous and unprovoked attack, is to leave theſe miſcreants to their fate, of whoſe follies he has ſubmitted to be the accomplice. Though he may have done much to ſoften the horrors of this war, and, by his influence, has contributed to leſſen the effects of that rage which theſe deſperate emigrés were bent on pouring on all around them, yet hiſtory will record many inſtances

ſtances which will not leave his reputation, for the leſſer virtues quite free from reproach.

It will be difficult, as this campaign will form a very important part of hiſtory, to know what judgment it will paſs on this celebrated character. If it decide on the whole tenor of his life by the actions of the few weeks paſt, the cruelty of the manifeſto legiſlator, the ignorance of the general, the folly of the negotiator, and his being occaſionally the accomplice of the atrocities of ferocious rebels, will ſink this highly eſteemed chief ſomewhat below the ſcale of the pity we feel for worth departed. I will not trouble you with any detail of the variety of anecdote which is commonly related, becauſe nothing is more eaſy than the fabrication of a falſehood, and the evidence of an enemy is always to be ſuſpected. One little ſtory has intereſted me very much, the outlines of which I learnt from the commiſſaries at St. Mene-

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fortunate campaign has completely diſſipated. He had the character of being a man of information and benevolence: but the events of this ſummer, added to the liſt of crimes of which he has been guilty againſt the cauſe of liberty, and the rights of mankind at other periods, have contributed very much to ſhake our belief. That he has been equally with his maſter the dupe of the emigrant princes and the houſe of Auſtria, is well known. The only reparation he can make for this ſcandalous and unprovoked attack, is to leave theſe miſcreants to their fate, of whoſe follies he has ſubmitted to be the accomplice. Though he may have done much to ſoften the horrors of this war, and, by his influence, has contributed to leſſen the effects of that rage which theſe deſperate emigrés were bent on pouring on all around them, yet hiſtory will record many inſtances

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the dungeons of Verdun. In vain did M. Georges remonſtrate to them on the rights of nations, and the laws of war. In vain did he plead his not being taken in arms, his not even having arms in his houſe, and his never having borne them. In vain did he plead, that the office he held was under a conſtitution ſanctioned by the king, in the execution of which office his exertions had been bent on making that conſtitution reſpected. In vain did he plead even the Duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto, which, harſh and cruel as it was, did not attaint his conduct. In vain did he plead his age, his numerous infirmities, and the immediate indiſpoſition under which he laboured, which impriſonment would only ſerve to increaſe; and that the damp of a dungeon would neceſſarily make his priſon his grave. His judges were inexorable; and the motives he urged againſt the ſentence, made them more earneſt to have

it

it carried into execution. Whether a ſentence be juſt or unjuſt, unleſs the crime be extremely heinous, we pity the offender, and ſeek every means to ſoften the harſhneſs of the law by the offices of humanity. One would have thought indefinite puniſhment in a dungeon a ſufficient evil. But his judges were of a different opinion; and although he repeatedly begged permiſſion to borrow money to pay his conveyance, they aſſerted that he merited no ſuch indulgence; and their final determination was, that he ſhould walk the eighteen miles on foot to Verdun. His offer of borrowing money to pay his conveyance, aroſe from his inability of paying for it himſelf, ſince, when his houſe was entered, the plunder of his property had taken place in a ſtyle more than uſually ſevere of military execution. One with a hatchet broke open his bureau, though he offered to give them the keys. But the hatchet was more expeditious;

and,

and, together with his papers, money to the amount of 1500 livres was taken away. Another called for the plate, and poized the candleſticks in his hand, which, not proving to be ſilver, were reſtored to their place. What there was that was valuable was carried off, whilſt he remained a witneſs of the depredation—But who were theſe plunderers, think you? Auſtrian, or rather Heſſian ſoldiers, who, dragging on a miſerable exiſtence at three ſous a day, might find a thouſand apologies for not reſiſting ſuch a temptation; who might plead the neceſſity of their nature, and aſk ſome excuſe in following the habits and example of their maſter, between whom and plunder there ſeems an original and hereditary affinity? —No!—One bluſhes for the pride of ariſtocracy, and the dignity of princes, when we learn that the rapacious hand of the Marquis de B—— demoliſhed the cabinet, and ſeized on the money; and

that

that one of more elevated rank was an accomplice in the theft.

To vulgar and ordinary minds this might appear a little improbable and ſhocking: but thoſe who are beſt acquainted with theſe elevated characters, will tell you, there is nothing in it very extraordinary. The orator who panegyrizes prieſthood and nobility, has declared to the world, that "Kings are neceſſarily lovers of low company." And the natural inference is, that ſuch intercourſe muſt promote ſimilar propenſities. M. Georges had neither any part of his money or plate returned him: but the phyſical impoſſibility of reaching Verdun, according to the letter of his ſentence, being made clear to his judges, they indulged him with riding on a cart loaded with fuſils, which they were ſending thither. The Duke of Brunſwick, appriſed of his approach, met him on the road,

road, accompanied by his ſuite, which was ſwelled to more than the uſual ſize. The general ſaluted the priſoner with much glee and apparent ſatisfaction: "Oh, Jacobin! Jacobin!—ſupport of Petion! ſupport of Petion!"—To which the patriot replied, "that, whether he was a Jacobin or Feuillant, he knew but of two claſſes of citizens, the good and the bad, and he had the pride to number himſelf at all times under the former." He was then charged with having been one of their greateſt enemies; in having promoted ſubſcriptions for the arming of volunteers; in having ſubſcribed large ſums himſelf; and in having conducted himſelf greatly amiſs, as a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly. "To theſe accuſations," ſays the old man, "I anſwered, as I had partly anſwered before, With reſpect to my conduct as a deputy of the National Aſſembly, I ſhall enter

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on no juſtification, but refer myſelf to the conſcience of M. de P———, who was my colleague, and whoſe evidence, from his perſonal attachment to your Highneſs, cannot be ſuſpected—let him ſpeak—he is at your right hand. As to the other charges, I not only plead guilty, but glory in my crime. I own I have promoted ſubſcriptions to arm men in defence of their rights, and to repel invaders: I have given money myſelf, and lament that I was not richer, that I might have given more. It is true alſo, that I am your enemy; and the aſſurance that I have been effectually ſo, will prove the greateſt ſource of conſolation under my ſufferings. For I ſhall not feel them heavy, ſince they are inflicted by thoſe who are not only my enemies, but thoſe of liberty and my country."

A tranſient fluſh paſſed over the faces of thoſe around him: but recovering a little

little from the embarraſſment of ſuch a reply, the Duke, in a milder tone, obſerved to him, that, as titles were aboliſhed, he was ſurpriſed that he had addreſſed him ſo unconſtitutionally. "The law does not allow me to addreſs free men by any name but that of citizen; I was not inadvertent in the mode of my addreſs to your Highneſs, but I was not willing to miſapply the title."

It would have been magnanimous in the Duke, to have examined more accurately into the nature of the crimes alleged againſt M. Georges, and to have ſoftened the ſeverity of the ſentence: and, had he had any penetration, he might have diſcovered that men like theſe were not eaſily ſubdued; inſtead of which, he confirmed the puniſhment, and the ſentence was put into execution with all its rigour. M. Georges ſuffered conſiderably from this mode of life, ſo contrary to his uſual habits—"But," ſaid this venerable patriot, "when

"when I reflected on the height of the ſituation in which theſe circumſtances had placed me, and compared it with the meanneſs of theirs, I felt a ſuperiority, an elevation of mind, which ſupported me more than I could have hoped under my ſufferings: for, had it not been for this enthuſiaſm, the ſtate of atmoſphere in my room, and my food, which at firſt was bread and water, would ſoon have releaſed me from their malice, and my confinement." He was viſited by ſeveral of the emigrés, who treated him very inſolently; and once by the Prince de Condé, with whom he converſed, as he told us, à la hauteur de republicaniſme. The latter part of his confinement was rendered much more tolerable, as he was viſited and comforted by Pruſſian officers. This relaxation from the former rigour was obtained in proportion to the degree of eſtimation in which the Duke began to hold his perſecutors; as M. Georges learnt from his

his viſitants, that a farther acquaintance with his real character had made a conſiderable impreſſion on the Duke's mind. He ought, indeed, to have made amends, by an immediate releaſe, for the injuſtice he had done; but M. Georges is happy not to have owed him this obligation, ſince he was exchanged for the ſecretary of the King of Pruſſia.

The ſiege of Verdun begins in a few days, unleſs the Pruſſians ſurrender it on the ſummons. The French army is very inferior to theirs; but terror has ſo ſeized them, that they now deem a retreat a victory. My next letter will therefore moſt probably be from Verdun.

Adieu.

LET-

LETTER V.

Verdun, October 16, 1792.
First Year of the French Republic.

THE French army has been for ſome days in poſſeſſion of this town; which was ſurrendered at the ſummons of General Dillon. The terror that ſeized the Pruſſians when they retreated from their camp at La Lune, the laſt poſt which they occupied on their road to Paris, has accompanied them hither. Bournonville had ſo haraſſed them on the firſt days of their retreat, that Dumourier thought it unneceſſary to diſplay any longer his whole force; and therefore went off to Flanders, leaving Kellermann's diviſion in the purſuit. The Pruſſians, having latterly diſplayed more activity, had eſcaped, without further moleſtation, to Verdun; whilſt Dillon, who

held the Heſſians in check at the paſs of the foreſt of Argonne, who yet had ſeen nothing of actual ſervice but in the plunder of unarmed citizens and women, has driven them with his cannon from all their poſitions, and forced them to ſeek the ſame ſhelter with their allies. It is the effect of misfortune on generous minds to attach them more ſtrongly, according to the extent of the danger or oppreſſion. Theſe unhappy fugitives, overwhelmed with ſhame, and conſcious of deſerving the evils with which they were ſurrounded, made their unfortunate condition ſtill worſe, like Milton's fallen angels, by railing accuſations and mutual ill offices. The fanfaronnade of the French nobility, their haughty pretenſions, and the Perſian luxury of their march, made a ſingular contraſt with the rigid diſcipline and ſimple manners of the Pruſſian ſoldiers. The hereditary hatred of the Pruſſians to the Auſtrians

was

was ſmothered, not extinguiſhed. Having one great object in view, in their union againſt France, they had agreed to forget ancient enmities; and made temporary ſacrifices of almoſt inſurmountable prejudices. But when Dumourier, like a mighty magician, ſtretched forth his hand, the enchanted palace fell to the ground with a horrid craſh: the gay, fantaſtic viſions, which had danced before their diſordered optics, diſappeared. The ſtupid Pruſſian, who thought himſelf illuminated in proportion as his moral ſight was really darkened, began to recover from his deluſion; and, finding himſelf the dupe of the perfidy of Auſtria and the malignity of the rebels, repented his folly when its exceſs had made repentance fruitleſs and unavailing. The touchſtone of misfortune, which always confirms the character of the juſt, applied to evil ſpirits, makes them ſtart up in their

proper and original forms. Theſe heroes, who were aſſociated as ſworn friends to ſuccour royalty in diſtreſs, and to extirpate traitors; and who, whilſt proſperity gladdened their way, found the feelings of fraternity increaſing; now aggravate their manifold evils, by the performance of all the poſſible ill offices which their natural propenſities and hatred no more diſguiſed, and contempt no longer concealed, can find the means of exerciſing towards each other. Whether the knowledge of this miſunderſtanding, which they in no way affected to hide, had made the French commander preſume on their not even agreeing to defend themſelves againſt a common attack; or whether, emboldened by ſucceſs, in having already ſtruck terror, he depended on its continuance; with an army of only 15,000 men, and an ill placed battery of only ten pieces of ſmall bore, at a flight diſtance from the citadel,

citadel, he ſent his ſummons, demanding an immediate ſurrender. The commander of Verdun, in return, requeſted a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and conference with the French general at the ſame time. Kalkreuth, who is in the confidence of the King of Pruſſia, did not pretend that he was furniſhed with any official powers; but, in converſing on the preſent circumſtances, he hoped that ſome means might be deviſed to promote a ſincere reconciliation between the French nation and the King of Pruſſia; and having always entertained the higheſt reſpect for the French character, he expreſſed the ſingular pleaſure he ſhould take in promoting an accommodation which might be advantageous to both nations. He was anſwered by Dillon, that, as a general of the French republic, his ſole buſineſs was to demand an immediate anſwer to the ſummons he had given; that the evacuation of the

French territory was a preliminary to all negotiation: that the revolution had not been lightly undertaken, nor effected without difficulty: and that it had the concurrence of the whole nation, which could not behold, without the higheſt indignation, its domeſtic arrangements interrupted, and its provinces invaded by foreign forces, when it had declared that it renounced for ever offenſive war; a declaration by which it would obtain as many friends as there were philoſophers in Europe: that nothing could be even thought of in the way of accommodation till the territory was completely evacuated, and the republic, with the powers delegated to the National Convention, acknowledged: that the King of Pruſſia could furniſh a convincing proof of his good diſpoſition towards the French nation, if he would ſeparate himſelf from his allies without farther delay, and aſſiſt the French againſt their common

common enemy, in giving freedom to the Low Countries; and that he ſhould recollect, that to a great, a good prince, no alliance can be ſo grateful as that of a free people. Kalkreuth aſſured him, that, did it depend on him alone, this alliance ſhould be readily accompliſhed; that he had ever oppoſed this war, which he found as impolitic as it was unjuſt: that the immediate ſurrender of Verdun would be ſome earneſt of the King's deſire to reconcile himſelf with France, and that the ſpeedy evacuation of Longwi would be a further inſtance. But with reſpect to the immediate rupture of the treaty with their preſent allies, the principle of honour compels them, like travellers who have ſet out on a journey, to finiſh it together; though it is no reaſon, that, having travelled once, they ſhould agree to begin anew: that he left him full of eſteem for the French nation and himſelf; and that in report-

ing their converſation to the king, he would not fail to communicate to him what he thought; that he hoped much from its ſucceſs; that no one could better appreciate the immenſe advantages of ſuch an alliance; and that he could wiſh to be ſent as ambaſſador to Paris, to aſſiſt in forwarding ſo happy an event. This general, who appears to have more wiſdom, and alſo more free principles, than might be expected from the folly and deſpotiſm with which he is ſurrounded, held a conference of this ſort a few days ſince; for when the French were preſſing on the enemy ſomewhat cloſer than the regulations of war, virtually agreed on, permitted, he requeſted to come to an explanation with the French commander. As they could not agree on the point they were diſcuſſing, he begged leave to invite the Duke of Brunſwick to the conference; to which General Galbaud conſented. I could

repeat

repeat to you briefly the ſubſtance of the converſation that took place; but the detail will be more intereſting, and you may depend on its authenticity, as it is taken literally from the memorandums of the general, who has obliged me with them.

D. of Brunſ. Is it you who have placed theſe pieces here? They have done us a great deal of miſchief; and I own I cannot conceive how it came into your head to place them ſo near our redoubt.

Galbaud. Your obſervation is the beſt proof of the goodneſs of our operations. We are, it is true, pretty cloſe to you; but our ſoldiers fear no danger when they are labouring for their country.

D. of Brunſ. General Kalkreuth has ſpoken to me of your propoſal reſpecting the wood. You muſt agree with me, that its ceſſion might be rendered diffi-

cult, if I were leſs ſparing of human blood; but, before we finiſh this buſineſs, let us diſcourſe a little about your nation. I love it; and have ſhown it more than once. I am ſorry that Dumourier, with reſpect to my laſt manifeſto, ſhould have diſcovered ſo much ill humour on account of ſome inconſequent words which he happened to find there. Thoſe expreſſions were meant for the vulgar. People of ſenſe know how to eſtimate them; and I am aſtoniſhed that Dumourier ſhould have given them ſo much more conſequence than they were entitled to.

Galbaud. Give me leave to aſk you, if the French people, having recovered their liberty, were not equally formed with General Dumourier to underſtand the language of truth? Imagine if they could read without indignation expreſſions which treated their rights with contempt; or if they could have permitted

any

any of their generals ſo far to forget the reſpect he owes his ſovereign, as to pay attention to any who did not acknowledge the national ſovereignty. I own, that, had I been in Dumourier's place, I ſhould have acted as he has done.

D. of Brunſ. I do not diſpute by any means the right which your nation has to regulate its own government; but has it choſen that form which is beſt ſuited to its character? This is what is generally doubted; and indeed, when I came into France, I had no other view than to concur in eſtabliſhing order.

Saboriliere. Give me leave to aſk you, what could have furniſhed you with authority to interpoſe between the people of France and their own concerns?

This converſation, according to the memorandum, was here interrupted by Galbaud, who looking round perceived the deſerter Klinglin, who was lately marechal-de-camp in the French ſervice,

on horſeback, in uniform, and with a white cockade. In his ſurpriſe he called out, "What! is that M. Klinglin?" who made him no reply; but Kalkreuth whiſpered to the duke, who turned round, and gave him a contemptuous look; which made him retire, very much aſhamed of his reception. The duke obſerved to Galbaud, "that he ſaw how he treated the emigrants; and that he never loved traitors. Do with them what you will, we care very little about them; but I inſiſt that the French nation will never know her true intereſts, until ſhe returns to principles of more moderation."

Saboriliere. I will aſk the Duke of Brunſwick, if it is the author of the manifeſto who is now addreſſing us? If ſo, the only anſwer I ſhould give him would be cannon balls. If, on the contrary, it is the friend of humanity who holds us this language, the beſt proof he can give us of his favourable diſpoſitions, is to evacuate

evacuate the French territory, before our armies, which are every day increaſſing, compel him. If you are willing to treat for the ſurrender of Verdun, I have no doubt but the nation will grant you all the conditions which may be ſuitable to its intereſts, and to the vengeance it ought to take for the violation of its rights and territory.

D. of Brunſ. The French are an aſtoniſhing people:—they have ſcarcely formed themſelves into a republic, when they aſſume the tone of republicans. I cannot ſay any thing to you at preſent on this ſubject, nor on that which has introduced me to you; I muſt ſpeak to the king. Let us agree to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between our videttes for twenty-four hours, and let every thing remain in ſtatu quo. To-morrow General Kalkreuth ſhall be with you; he is in the king's confidence; and whether it be Dumourier, or any one he ſhall

commiſſion, the general will confer with him. I am very happy to have formed your acquaintance. As to you, General Galbaud, I ſee with pleaſure an old officer of artillery. You have ſhown me in your battery a ſpecimen of the talents of the old royal corps. Continue both of you to ſerve your country well; and believe me, that, in ſpite of the ſtyle of manifeſtoes, we cannot help eſteeming thoſe who intereſt themſelves ſo much to ſecure its independence.

Kalkreuth remained a few minutes in converſation after the duke retired. When he left the French generals, the ſoldiers, both Pruſſian and French, who had been in conference alſo, drinking together, took leave of each other; and the latter calling out, more vociferouſly than uſual, "Vive la Nation!" Kalkreuth, diſcovering ſome marks of terror, demanded if his perſon was in ſafety; to which Galbaud replied, "In republican

loyalty there can be no treachery;" and Kalkreuth, after farther profeſſions of friendſhip, returned to his camp.

I have given you this converſation at ſome length, becauſe characters are beſt underſtood when they develop themſelves. Of its authenticity you may have the moſt perfect aſſurance, if any credit is to be given to the parties themſelves, on one ſide at leaſt, from whom I immediately obtained it; and it is ſo far of importance, as it proves, what has always been aſſerted, that Pruſſia has been made the dupe of the emigrant Princes, and the ſtep-ladder of ambition to the Houſe of Auſtria; of which itſelf ſeems ſo convinced, and the experience that accompanies that conviction has been ſo dearly purchaſed, that if the French will deſcend ſomewhat from this republican tone which the duke accuſes them of having attained, they might, without much difficulty, make this enemy neutral,

tral, if not gain him as an ally. No arrangement, the French general declares, can take place till the French territories are evacuated. This will ſpeedily be done, if the preſent diſpoſition for flight continues; but there is ſuch an impulſe given to the nation, that it will be difficult to lay the foundation of any arrangement where the principles of both parties are ſo directly oppoſite. The Pruſſian and French generals, and the commiſſaries from the Convention, have held ſeveral conferences together reſpecting immediate regulations, and mutual conveniences; the adjuſtment of which has been ſo much to the advantage of the fugitives, that the Duke of Brunſwick has thought proper to ſend them another manifeſto; not of menaces and inſults, of devaſtation and death, according to the old ſchool; but of humility and friendſhip, of conſideration and reſpect, of admiration and gratitude for their

their attention and humanity. I have ſeen his letter to the generals, expreſſive of theſe ſentiments; and, conſidering the tendency of the conferences that have taken place at Grand Pré, at the camp of La Lune, before and ſince the army entered Verdun, if his attempts to perſuade his maſter to abandon this enterpriſe be not ſucceſsful, he will probably leave him to fulfil his own deſtiny, and make ſome compenſation for the injuries he has done the cauſe of liberty, by withdrawing from theſe ſtupid deſpots his farther ſervices; whilſt he quits the territories of the republic, as Pyrrhus retired from Italy, full of reſpect and admiration of his enemies; with this difference, indeed, that Pyrrhus had ſome victories to cheer him in his retreat.

Since my reſidence at Verdun I have been alternately the gueſt of generals Kellermann and Valence at the Hotel de Ville. Before the army entered, I was indebted

indebted to the kindneſs and hoſpitality of general Money, whom I have already introduced to you at the paſs of the foreſt, and who had made the curé's houſe his quarters, in a little village on the banks of the Meuſe. The king of Pruſſia was our neareſt neighbour for a day or two, having taken temporary poſſeſſion of a houſe on the oppoſite bank, whilſt his army evacuated Verdun. The view from our village preſented to us, on the right, the two diviſions of the French army encamped on adjoining hills, interſected by a valley, in which Dillon had fixed his head quarters. The Pruſſian camp was arranged along the mountains of St. Michel, the ſides of which were covered continually with horſes, waggons, troops, and artillery; whilſt Verdun, with its venerable towers, and heretofore menacing citadel, made a charming point of proſpect between both; and the river, ſwelled by the late

rains,

rains, overflowing the level above the town, and giving itſelf the appearance of conſiderable magnitude, added much to the richneſs of the ſcene. Our hoſt is not greatly diſpleaſed at our departure. Though he was conſtitutional and fermenté, yet I could readily perceive that he had a few points now and then to ſettle with his conſcience. He was, however, a pious and ſenſible man, with more information than is commonly found in village prieſts; and though St. Auſtin, St. Bernard, and authors of the ſame ſaint-like deſcription, with a variety of confeſſions of faith, and books of canonical regulation, were in continual obtruſion, we diſcerned a profane corner, where lurked Cicero, and Seneca, and, ſtranger ſtill! Racine and Corneille, with Lucan, Ovid, and Virgil. After exhauſting every military and political topic with the general, when the weather did not permit us to walk or

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ride out, I made a party in the kitchen with the curé (for every other room in the houſe was occupied), by the fire-ſide of which we diſcuſſed literary and religious queſtions, read Latin hymns, and the Metamorphoſis, and wandered from the ſtreams of Babylon, on the banks of which he had fancied himſelf ſettled for ſome weeks paſt, to the plains of Pharſalia. The habitudes of men are not eaſily altered, thoſe eſpecially which have the ſanction of religious perſuaſion. This good prieſt has no great reliſh for the profane reformers of the National Convention; not that he denies the neceſſity, but diſlikes the means: an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, it ſeems, would have done it with more efficacy and grace. It is poſſible that a prieſt, as ſuch, may have an attachment to liberty; but the inſtances are ſo rare, that the ſingularity of the exception almoſt confirms the rule. There is ſo immenſe a diſtance between

between religion itſelf, the baſis of equality, and its human eſtabliſhments, that the functionaries of the latter can have no taſte or feeling for the principles of the former. The French, therefore, in decreeing equality and the continuance of a particular eſtabliſhment ſalaried by the ſtate, have violated their own declaration, and acted with all the inconſiſtency of half-ſighted legiſlators. After they have gone ſo far, they may ſafely venture one ſtep more, and give that which they deſpiſe whilſt they pretend to venerate it, religion, one advantage which they do not deny to any other principle, the liberty of eſtabliſhing itſelf by the ordinary means of knowledge; and then its influence would be better felt, and its miniſters more honourably protected. I will not, however, charge theſe lawgivers with debaſing what they do not underſtand; for they are yet too ignorant to diſtinguiſh

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the principle from its corruption, and therefore always confound them. I know nothing more pleaſant than the religious diſcuſſions of theſe philoſophers. A prieſt can ſcarcely be more ignorant; and yet the parade of their ignorance, and contempt of the knowledge of others, keeps ſuch equal proportion, that an alteration of the courſe of nature might as eaſily be effected, as any impreſſion made of the importance of religious principles on the minds of theſe politicians. They have been accuſed of deſtroying a government without having firſt erected another. This charge is puerile—the materials were ready, and would eaſily, on the removal of the former, be arranged on the ſame ſcite. But in this avowed and indiſcriminate contempt of religion, though they do not overthrow morality, of which they have alſo been unjuſtly accuſed, yet, in ſeeking to build it on the baſis of public utility

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alone, the beſt human foundation indeed on which it can be built, they have acted unwiſely, ſince they have taken away that which furniſhes the ſtrongeſt motives for its obſervance, the motives furniſhed by the proſpects and aſſurances of revelation. We left this parſonage houſe, as I have obſerved, to the great joy of its legal poſſeſſor, though he had experienced nothing but politeneſs on the part of his laſt gueſt; whoſe humanity, and habitual care of his ſoldiers, have not leſs entitled him to their love, than his courage as an officer to their confidence. The Heſſians had not left impreſſions ſo favourable. They had deſpoiled the fineſt of his vintage, robbed him of his whole ſtore of proviſions, ſtolen his plate and linen, and, what grieved his heart infinitely more than theſe, had taken away with them a pretty and innocent damſel, one of his pariſhioners, who lived with him, aſſiſted

ed his houſekeeper in her lighter occupations, and whom he regarded (the tear ſtealing down his cheek as he told me), from her little accompliſhments and gentle demeanour, as his daughter. He had heard nothing of her till yeſterday evening, when her father returned with the tidings that he had found her at a ſmall hamlet, twelve miles diſtant, where the charity of a peaſant had given her a little ſtraw, having found her wandering thro' the fields, reduced by hunger, and the victim of diſeaſe; ſo that, when her father arrived, little hopes remained that her miſerable exiſtence could be prolonged to receive the laſt offices of religion, which ſhe earneſtly entreated from the hands of her maſter. It ſeems that theſe ruffians had carried her to their camp near Clermont, where they kept her in transfer to each other, till ſhe found the means of making her eſcape; and it was in the act of returning home, and avoiding

ing the high road, to eſcape farther outrage, that ſhe loſt her way, and took refuge in the cottage of the peaſant. It would ſeem, from my continual denunciation of theſe Heſſians, that all the individual miſeries of the war were occaſioned by them. The hiſtories of their cruelty are too numerous to be recited; the detail of which can gratify no mind that deſerves to be gratified; but I am averſe to credit any but thoſe which I receive from the parties themſelves, and then hear them with much allowance. I have the fulleſt conviction, however, that the curé was plundered. I believe the ſtory of the father, whoſe miſery is heightened from the ſucceſs of his wanderings in ſearch of his daughter; and I believe the poſt-maſter of Domballe, who, whilſt earneſtly entreating to keep a favourite horſe, when twenty others were in the act of being ſtolen, and holding one part of the bridle ſomewhat more expreſſive of his regret at parting than

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was agreeable to the huſſar who held the other, received a ſevere ſtroke of a hanger on his hat; and, when he applied for redreſs to the Prince of Heſſe, who had taken poſſeſſion of his houſe for head quarters, was anſwered, that, with reſpect to his horſes, he ſhould be paid for them when the king was reinſtated; and, as for himſelf, he ought to be thankful that his hat was not his head.

The entrance of the French army into Verdun was accompanied by none of the effuſions of joy with which thoſe meet, who are the deliverers and the delivered. Verdun has hitherto been noted for its confectionary: it will carry down to poſterity another title to celebrity, its cowardice. Nothing could equal the terror of the inhabitants, when they underſtood that the town was to be ſurrendered, and that no conditions were made for themſelves. General pillage was the mildeſt puniſhment they expected; and, the National Aſſembly having ordered the

the razure of Longwi, it was not ſuppoſed that, when thoſe intereſted in the pillage were to be the executioners, much reſpect or mercy would be ſhewn. The generals provided againſt the commiſſion of theſe horrors, though the good faith of the ſoldiers, and their obedience, would have been a ſufficient warrant. A few companies only were ſtationed in the town, till the Pruſſians had proceeded further on their route; when the French army marched directly through it, and occupied their places, without beſtowing on the inhabitants in their paſſage any thing but looks of indignation and contempt. The generals and commiſſaries proceeded to the creation of proviſional adminiſtrative powers; having put the former magiſtrates under arreſt till their conduct be examined by the Convention. That the town ſurrendered more readily to the French arms than it was taken at firſt by

the Pruſſians will plead much in their favour. Though it is ſtrongly fortified, yet it is ſo commanded on almoſt every ſide, that it could never be expected to hold for any time againſt a tolerable force: all that art can do had been done: there wanted nothing but a little more courage in the inhabitants, and the removal of the hills that hang over it, to have put it properly in a ſtate of effectual reſiſtance.

I have paſſed two or three pleaſant days in ſociety not merely military. Madame de V—— has enlivened our circle by her wit and beauty; Colonel de L—— is a favourite of the muſes as well as a warrior, "Augur et fulgente decorus arcu." He gave us his tranſlation of the beautiful Greek ode which celebrates the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton; but he would be better known to the world as the author and compoſer of the Marſeillois ſong, which

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we heard ſung with ſo much accompaniment at the theatre, when we ſaw the repreſentation of Brutus, juſt after the tenth of Auguſt. Two officers with ſtentorian lungs, who came to partake of our deſſert, made our hall re-echo a day or two ſince; thirty or forty at table made a decent chorus; and we had a ſort of accompaniment ſtill more animating than that of the theatre, the view from our windows of the Pruſſian army on the mountains preparing for farther retreat.

It is to be hoped the accommodation will take place which the conferences I have related, and the friendly intercourſe I have deſcribed, ſeem to promiſe. Whether any more ſolemn treaty than that made with the Auſtrians binds the king of Pruſſia, I am at preſent ignorant. We have heard of the confederacies of the princes of Europe againſt the principles of the French conſtitution, and men of

vehement minds and ſanguinary tempers have called on them to arm in defence of their general cauſe. They may arm, and for a moment the law of force may wear its accuſtomed ſuperiority; but, as deſpotiſm has been effectually reſiſted in remoter times, when the light of philoſophy had ſcarcely dawned, and the rights of men were little underſtood, can it be expected, in theſe days of univerſal knowledge and illuminated reaſon, that any of the human race, who are placed within the reach of the bleſſings of freedom, will remain much longer deprived of their enjoyment? "I rejoice," ſaid Lord Chatham, "that America has reſiſted."—Millions of voices from every enſlaved corner of the globe will echo the ſentiment of the venerable patriot, ſince in this and latter times ſhe forms a model for themſelves. France has reſiſted alſo; and, like America, ſhe has conquered. Its former deſpotic force,

force, joined with the free principles of America, obtained the victory there; and theſe laſt becoming eventually, in every country, the advanced guard of their enterpriſe, inſures the triumph of truth and liberty. It has been objected, that the lightneſs of the French character but ill accords with that ſentiment which belongs peculiarly to free men; and that, habituated to a certain point of political ſervitude, it can neither feel nor appreciate the real value of political freedom. I will not diſpute the frivolity of the general character ariſing from a frivolous education, or that their follies, and even crimes, have been naturalized into manners from the continued contemplation of thoſe manners in a corrupted court, whither hitherto all their views have been habitually directed. But what I contend for, and what will be obvious to any obſerver, is, that there is ſufficient energy, and firm foundation to

build up a people zealous of good works, worthy of the principles they have now adopted, and of the deſtiny to which they aſpire. Already a wonderful reverſe has been effected. The effeminacy of the Sybarite, with which we have hitherto reproached them, has been changed alternately into Roman firmneſs and Tartarean ferocity. Effeminacy and cruelty are oftentimes not remote from each other: but if there are pages in the hiſtory of the revolution which the friend of liberty will try to efface with his tears; there are volumes alſo which he will hold up with pride to the admiring world. The gallants whom I have ſeen parading in the public walks with their miſtreſſes, in all the ſtyle of foppery and diſſipation, are now tranſformed into hardy ſoldiers, expoſed to all the inclemencies of an intemperate ſeaſon, with ſcarcely tents to cover them, and making often the bare earth their bed.

bed. But, if there be any thing in locality of ſituation to give energy to ſentiment; if you could draw deeper ſighs with Petrarch in wandering along the valley, and hanging over the fountain, of Vaucluſe; or feel ſtronger enthuſiaſm, and more poetic ſoul, in viſiting the hallowed tomb of Virgil—you will find ſome excuſe for my intemperance, if it be ſuch, when you know that I am writing to you from the table at which Beaurepaire wrote his adieu, and in the room in which he died.

You remember the event: the perilous circumſtances in which we were then placed, cauſed it to be more ſlightly noticed than it deſerved. When the Pruſſians had inveſted Verdun, and ſummoned Beaurepaire to ſurrender, the Duke of Brunſwick received for anſwer, that the command of the place was intruſted to him by the French nation; that he felt himſelf reſponſible for the truſt, and

ſhould yield it only with his life. The Duke ſignified to him in reply, that, did the defence of the place depend on him alone, he had no doubt but it would be well maintained, though he muſt be very ſenſible that the works which he had erected, and the advantage given by the poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring heights, would make it impoſſible for him to maintain it long; but, before he confirmed himſelf in this reſolution, he would refer him to a decree of the Aſſembly, which gave the municipality, in all caſes ſimilar to the preſent, the controul of the commander; and begged him as a good citizen to take their advice, and re-conſider the ſummons he had given. The ſudden ſurrender of Longwi by its governor, had induced the Aſſembly to paſs this decree, having at that moment more confidence in the courage of the municipal officers of fortified towns, than in the good faith of the commanders.

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But, as the event proved, it was a law fitted for Longwi alone—for when Beaurepaire, compelled by the decree to follow the ſarcaſtic exhortation of the Duke of Brunſwick, conſulted the civil officers, he found the proſpect of 60,000 Pruſſians on the hills, and a few ſhells which they had thrown into the town by way of amuſement, too ſtrong proofs for their municipal nerves. All the arguments that valour could inſpire; all the perſuaſions that patriotiſm could dictate; all the expoſtulations that the ſenſe of ſhame could provoke, Beaurepaire urged in vain. To die for their country was no part of their municipal creed, and they were nearly unanimous to ſurrender. Once more he attempted to animate them: they were deaf to his remonſtrances, and ſigned the capitulation. He had reſolved to make his way through the enemy, with as many as he could prevail on to follow him; but

his purpoſe was betrayed. Overcome with ſhame, with all the indignation that ariſes in the breaſt of a ſoldier at the proſpect of diſhonour, and the virtuous ſentiments which give more than elevation to the ſoul of the patriot, he withdrew from this tribunal, whoſe coward ſouls, like the dahees of Caſimere, feared nothing ſo little as diſgrace, and nothing ſo much as danger. Verdun was ſurrendered. The municipality was ſafe, and received the compliments of the Pruſſian commander. Beaurepaire was gone beyond the reach of their flattery or their triumph. Like Cato, his indignation, the paſſion of great ſouls, had overcome every other ſentiment: he could not ſurvive the liberty of his country; and, more virtuous than Cato, ſince the ignominy of gracing the triumph of Cæſar was too perſonal a motive, he ſought refuge from diſhonour in death.

The concierge tells me, that he heard

the report of the piſtol, but had no idea that it proceeded from his chamber, as he had but a few minutes before, on entering it, found the commander writing with ſuch earneſtneſs, that he was heedleſs of his being there. Beaurepaire was found fallen from his chair, with a few ſigns of life yet remaining: they placed him on the bed, where he inſtantly expired.

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate,
"Is privileged beyond the common walks
"Of virtuous life."

The preſent was a ſanctuary too ſacred for municipal officers or Pruſſians, and therefore had been kept ſhut, from a variety of motives, by both parties, till the arrival of the French, when the hoſpitality of Kellermann gave it me for my reſidence whilſt in Verdun. The National Aſſembly have decreed funeral honours to the memory of this generous commander, who, urged by thoſe impaſſioned

motives which are peculiar to elevated minds, had choſen death rather than ſurvive the cowardly ſurrender which his efforts could not prevent, and which, therefore, in a life of unſullied honour, would have left no ſtain. I know not how rigid moraliſts will eſtimate this action, or whether they will enter into the feelings of the Aſſembly, who, by ordering his remains to be depoſited in the temple dedicated to great men, have given their ſanction to this act of virtue, and deſtroyed that prejudice ſo fatal to heroiſm, which, taking from man the privilege of chooſing the moment of his death, takes from him that firmneſs of ſoul which is ſo neceſſary to bear it. No ages have been more fertile in examples of great courage, heroic virtues, and talents uſeful to ſociety, than thoſe in which Stoiciſm inſpired that energy which led men to devote their lives to the defence of the republic; and none, in general

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have more honoured mankind, than thoſe who, riſing ſuperior to prejudices, have ſhortened their courſe by a voluntary termination.

The Aſſembly have provided liberally for his widow, and placed his ſon under the protection of the nation. Its preſident, Herault de Lechelles, was ordered to communicate this decree to Madame Beaurepaire, which he has done in the following letter:

" Le brave Beaurepaire, votre époux, a terminé par une mort héroïque quarante ans d'une vie précieuſe; il n'a pu ſe réſoudre à vivre dans une ville qui n'étoit pas Françaiſe; il laiſſe un grand modele à tous les ſoldats de la liberté. L'Aſſemblée Nationale, ſenſible à votre perte, qui eſt à la fois une perte publique, me charge de vous écrire, et de vous envoyer le décret qu'elle vient de rendre; vous y verrez, Madame, que la nation Françaiſe eſt digne d'avoir des Brutus pour la défendre.

dre. Puiſſe la reconnoiſſance de la patrie conſoler votre douleur, et celle du fils qui vous reſte. Son pere eſt mort pour la liberté—puiſſe-t-il vivre long tems pour elle! Il ne peut manquer d'être un héros, s'il ſe rappelle toujours qu'il eſt le fils de Beaurepaire."

On his tomb is to be engraven this inſcription: "Il aima mieux mourir, que capituler avec les tyrans."

And think you, my patriotic friend, that minds like theſe can be ſubdued? No—Liberty will be ſaved; and the love of their country be the ruling paſſion, whilſt there continue to exiſt ſuch men as the volunteer ſoldiers of the battalions of Paris, ſuch undaunted guardians of the rights of men as Georges of Varennes, and ſuch heroic commanders as Beaurepaire of Verdun.

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LETTER VI.

Rheims, November 2, 1793,
First Year of the French Republic.

LEAVING the generals in purſuit of the enemy, in their own territory, after having driven them from that of France (for Longwi was evacuated more readily than Verdun), we have ſince employed ourſelves in viſiting the neighbouring frontier towns, and wandering over ſome of thoſe parts of the country which have been the ſcenes of action during this memorable campaign. From the walls of this city detachments of the invaders had been frequently ſeen; as the camp of Suippe, the laſt but one before the retreat, commanded in equal directions both this town and Chalons. We purpoſe remaining here a day or two to repair

pair our vehicle, which has been completely disjointed, as well as to procure ſome little repoſe to ourſelves. This city is chiefly noted as the place ſacred to the conſecration of the kings of France; but though its occupation be gone, at leaſt for the preſent, the holy relic, with which the Holy Ghoſt complimented them for this important purpoſe, yet remains. The truth of the hiſtory of this ſanctified preſent has, at all times, been doubted by philoſophers, and thoſe who reaſon; and it has been ſuſpected, that the faith of prieſts and courtiers has not been always unſhaken. But the truth of a good ſtory ought never to be doubted; and as it turned out ſo much to the profit of theſe two orders, they were not much intereſted to enquire into the evidence. If you have any curioſity to examine the fact, you will find a detailed account of the miracle in Dom Reutheli's Glories of the Church Triumphant; or you will meet

meet with as much as will ſatisfy you in Voltaire's Abridgement of this part of its Glories, and his lively comments on the miracle in queſtion.

The country through which we have paſſed, has been under the government of the Auſtrian and emigrant armies for ſome months; as it was that part which bordered more immediately on Brabant, from which their column marched parallel with that of the Pruſſians in their advance towards Paris. Theſe armies approached at the two paſſes of La Croix and Grand Pré, as I have before mentioned, and formed their junction immediately after. The capture of thoſe neighbouring towns would have been of great moment; and as detachments frequently appeared at their gates, which they might have entered without much reſiſtance, it appears ſingular that it was not accompliſhed. The foreſt of Argonne, indeed, and the viſitation of Heaven

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in rain, and peſtilence, and famine, ſtood between them: for which the holy flaſk, in remoter ages, as the palladium of Rheims, would have been worſhipped with more devout gratitude, and held up as an object of greater ſanctity and veneration.

I will not trouble you with the detail of any of the operations of this campaign previous to the invaſion of the Pruſſians; the removal of camps from Orchies to Maubeuge—the ſkirmiſhes at St. Amand, Bavay, and Mezieres.—Theſe were only the amuſements of the traitors on one ſide, and the ſport of the Auſtrian generals on the other, to keep out of ſight the grand operation which was then concerting between the French and German courts. Of the three generals employed on this occaſion, Rochambeau retired early in diſguſt, with ſome pre-ſentiment moſt likely of what was to follow. Luckner was far advanced in his ſecond infancy,

infancy, and eaſily impoſed on. The game was altogether in the hands of La Fayette, whoſe military ignorance, his apologiſts would ſay, but whoſe treaſons, which hiſtory will record, have been expiated by his preſent, and probably yet greater misfortunes. After leaving the army, we directed our courſe along the Meuſe to Montmedy, through that part of the country which lies between this river and the Duchy of Luxembourg, in the Auſtrian territory. Verdun was left under the direction of a proviſional adminiſtration, and a ſlight gārriſon. It contained a great number of Pruſſians, who were recommended to the care of the French by the Duke of Brunſwick, and who were to be ſent forwards when cured. The villages around were filled alſo with the ſick, for whom no ſuch proviſion was made, and who probably, when recovered, will ſerve in the French armies. The town, delivered from its apprehenſions,

ſions, had aſſumed its uſual gaiety; the ſtreets were beginning to be re-paved; the merchants were expoſing their goods, all but the dealers in the chief manufactory of the town, the greater part of which the Pruſſians had bought when they took their leave, and the reſt the Heſſians had ſtolen. Without troops to defend the neighbouring heights, which command the town on every ſide, it ſeems more ſtrange that its defence ſhould be undertaken, except as a temporary obſtacle to the progreſs of the enemy, than that it ſhould have ſurrendered ſo ſoon. It was, nevertheleſs, from the circumſtances, cowardly ſurrendered; though one muſt form many apologies for its inhabitants, who, unaccuſtomed even to the noiſe of cannon, had begun to feel ſome of its fatal effects. We found the town divided in its patriotiſm, which might have been alſo the diviſion of its courage; between the

biſhop,

biſhop, with the higher clergy, the bourgeois, and many of thoſe who had elegant houſes, on the one hand; and the inferior order of prieſts, the lower claſs, and the women, on the other. The indignation of the commander was not peculiar or fatal to himſelf alone. A young ſoldier, the ſon of a merchant at Troyes, overcome with ſhame when the Pruſſians entered the town, and unable to reſtrain his emotions, ruſhed forward from his ranks, and with his knife attempted to kill a general officer, whoſe looks of ſatisfaction had raiſed his deſpair into phrenſy. He was inſtantly ſeized, and awaited an exemplary puniſhment in a priſon made on the walls. He however deceived the ſenate, by precipitating himſelf into the river that flowed beneath; where he was drowned before any unwelcome aſſiſtance could have been afforded him. This ſort of unjuſtifiable aſſaſſination had often been exer-

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cifed on the invaders; and one of the complaints of the Prince de Ligne's letter, is the frequency of its commiſſion by the peaſants and national guards, who have generally more of the ardour than of the warineſs or diſcipline of ſoldiers. When the attack was made on Stenay, from which Dillon retreated, ſome of the inhabitants imprudently continued the defence, by firing from the houſes at the entrance of the town. One of thoſe national guards was made priſoner, and he did not deny the charge, that he had fired two or three ſhot with the intention of killing the commander; though he was ignorant that the regular troops who defended the place had retreated. During the time that the Auſtrian and emigrant camp remained at Stenay, he was brought out on the parade at a certain hour every day, and underwent, with ſome ſeverity, the military puniſhment of the ſcourge. The law of the mani-

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feſto of the Duke of Brunſwick was direct as to the crime and its atonement; and therefore this daily torture was certainly an infringement of the letter, as the expiation was only death. This concluſion to his ſufferings he received the day preceding the departure of the army; there was no appeal, and on the part of the ſufferer there was no murmur. For the ſake of the example, the people were permitted to be preſent. He was ordered to confeſs his crime on his knees, and the juſtice of his ſentence; which he refuſed, as he acknowledged neither. He then prepared himſelf for death, which, amidſt the cries and lamentations of his friends, unreſtrained by the preſence of the Auſtrians, he underwent; declaring with his laſt breath, that he fell a willing martyr to the liberties of his country, " et quoique je meurs, Vive la Nation!" Having been active in promoting a ſpirit of patriotiſm in his town and

and neighbourhood, he was much regretted by the inhabitants; among whom he has left a widow and three children, ſufficiently provided for, not to expect any thing from the nation but its gratitude to the memory of their father. That he was imprudent, cannot be denied. That ſome examples were neceſſary to check this irregular mode of attack, may be admitted; but the application of the law to every caſe, was not in the ſame ſpirit of juſtice. Of this miſapplication the little town or village of Voges was an inſtance. It was built on a mountain, which commanded the adjacent plain in every direction; and had probably been, at ſome period, a poſt of ſtrength. It would have been folly in its inhabitants to have defended it againſt any conſiderable force: but as the advanced guard of armies are ſometimes preceded in their march by robbers, whom a ſtate of war ſets looſe from the

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ordinary reſtraints of ſociety, they had determined to defend their village and their property, where reſiſtance had the probability of being effectual. Accordingly, when a detachment from the advanced guard of the enemy appeared, it met with a ſevere repulſe. They returned however ſoon with a conſiderable reinforcement, and renewed the attack. The national guard defended it with great valour as long as it was tenable; but, overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to ſurrender. This was a caſe which was not contained in the ſtatutes of the manifeſto. Here was no treachery, but an open and manly defiance. It was however agreed by the aſſailants, that, as the defence was not made according to the articles of war, and the defenders were not all clothed in uniform, that they were not entitled to the uſual terms; though they did not deſerve the extremeſt puniſhment. On the fate

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by the ſavages, his allies in the American war, "that he had rigorouſly enjoined them to abſtinence from cruelty," we may anſwer him in this language of the general, as tranſlated by Mr. Burke: "Go, ye gentle dragons, ye courteous lions, ye meek and dove-like tigers, ye innocent and tender wolves, ye ſoft and chriſtian hearted hyænas! go, fight the battles of the great king, but ſhed no blood."

As the ſeaſon had ſo far advanced before the Pruſſians took the field, the campaign would have been finiſhed before Longwi and Verdun, had any kind of aſſiſtance been given to theſe towns. The valour of the defenders of Thionville held in check a long time a conſiderable force, and reſiſted it with effect. "You may deſolate the fortreſs, and not leave one ſtone on another," Felix Wimpfen replied to the ſummons, "but you cannot burn the ramparts." Montmedy,

medy, where the king had intended to have held his court, had he succeeded in his escape, would have made the same noble resistance, if the patriotism of the municipality, which, from what I witnessed, was not impossible, had mounted only to the height of that of Verdun. This town was often menaced, the enemy having uninterrupted possession of the country around, especially after the retreat from Stenay, and the success of the Prussians in their march towards Clermont. The great force which it would require to make any impression, and the length of time necessary to reduce it, had made them abandon the enterprise; for, independently of the strength of the works above ground and below, with which the enemy were well acquainted, its situation alone would have demanded another army to have forced it to surrender. This fortress is built on a hill, accessible but on one side,

as the others, rise nearly perpendicular; and the heights around are at so great a distance, that their possession to the enemy would be unavailing. Its lofty situation commands a fine view along the valley and the woods; through which runs the river Chiars in a variety of romantic windings. On the other side are seen the bleak hills in the Austrian territory, within the distance of half a league. There is nothing in the town itself worthy of a royal residence, for it does not contain 200 houses; and the courtiers and aristocracy would have found some difficulty, had the plan of escape succeeded, to have met with accommodation. The retreat of the Austrians had just released the inhabitants from their confinement; and as no visitors or travellers had made their appearance in these regions since they had become the seat of war, we were examined more scrupulously. Our passports gained

us ready entrance through the gates, and we underwent the military reſearch without much difficulty. But the municipality were more ceremonious; and fearing that treaſon might lurk in ſome corner, and eſcape the accuſtomed obſervance, we were compelled to give an account of our parentage, birth, and education, as well as the evidence of our patriotiſm and friendſhip to the republic. After this inquiſitorial reſearch, and a variety of ſhrewd and ſage remarks made by the municipal officers, one of whom was particularly minute in his enquiries where we meant next to bend our courſe, we were permitted to retire. After dinner, as there was nothing ſufficiently intereſting to detain us, we ordered poſt-horſes to Stenay; when our cicerone entered, and adviſed us to take the road through Sedan. It was in vain that we repreſented to him that we did not wiſh to go to Sedan; that our courſe lay through the

former place; and that to arrive at it through Sedan, would make a circuit of fifteen or twenty miles, and along the frontier, not yet ſufficiently clear from the enemy. Beſides, in going thither, we ſhould meet with poſt-horſes neither at La Ferté nor Carignan, villages we had to paſs; and the delay would be extremely inconvenient. All theſe objections he combated with more warmth than one uſually permits a friend in matters which are ſo perſonal; and as he continued to be preſſing, I enquired the cauſe of the intereſt he took in our accommodation, and found that this magiſtrate was himſelf the poſt-maſter. This information unveiled the myſtery of his ſolicitude. He cared little for our accommodation; but having been at the expence of keeping his horſes for many a week untired, from the circumſtances of the war, he thought the preſent a good opportunity of finding ſome compenſa-

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tion for his extraordinary expences, in obliging us to take them to ſee the environs of Montmedy. He agreed at length that the road to Stenay through Sedan was about three times as far as the direct one; that it would be impoſſible to get a relay of horſes on the way; and that the night would cloſe ere we reached the place of even his deſtination; but ſtill it was clear to him that our beſt road muſt be that of Sedan. The motives of this municipal officer were ſo contemptible, that indignation would have been miſplaced; I therefore laughed at him, making ſome reflections on the union of his two profeſſions of magiſtrate and poſt-maſter, and concluded on going to Stenay. It was evident, however, that I had not conceived a ſufficient idea of his importance or authority; for, on my return from a walk on the ramparts, I met my fellow-traveller, who, with looks of great diſmay,

informed me that we were put in a ſtate of arreſt. This the poſt-maſter magiſtrate himſelf confirmed; having had reaſon, ſince my departure from the houſe, to ſuſpect us as diſaffected, and that therefore he ſhould order our detention till the arrival of the commander, which might probably be deferred a day or two, as he was gone to Longwi. In my abſence he had terrified my companion, whoſe guilt, as a Pruſſian, had preſented to his imagination a thouſand modes of diſcovery, and whoſe fears of municipal puniſhment had terrified him into tones of ſubmiſſion. As I had no guilt of this ſort, I had no fears, and therefore told this conſtituted protector of the rights of men, that I had hitherto taken him for a fool, and had only amuſed myſelf with his folly; that I now diſcovered he was a knave, and therefore felt the moſt inexpreſſible contempt both for himſelf and his menaces.

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As to our detention, he had better conſult his brother officers: for my own part, I ſhould, without any reluctance, await the return of the commander, whom I came to viſit; and regretted only that I ſhould be compelled to report, on my arrival at Paris, his conduct as a municipal officer, which was as diſhonourable to the republic as it was diſgraceful to himſelf. I did not await his anſwer, but took another walk, and found at my return our chaiſe at the door, with the poſt-maſter as obſequious as he had been before inſolent. We drove out of the gates, with the perſuaſion, on my part, that I had lectured or frightened him into virtue.—No ſuch thing; my companion had agreed to pay him double the fare to Stenay; which iniquitous contract, not having previouſly received my aſſent, I hindered him the next morning from fulfilling. This tyrannical exaction was, in itſelf, of little im-

portance. The chief impression made on my mind from the adventure, was the conſideration of what muſt have been the feelings of Beaurepaire, when he was compelled to bend his high ſpirit to the daſtardly deciſions of ſuch men as theſe; from whom, if honeſty was ſo diſtant, heroiſm muſt be ſtill more remote.

The whole country between Verdun and Rheims preſented numberleſs traces of the outrages and devaſtations of war. Here we found the peaſant lamenting the loſs of his harveſt, of which the enemy had deſpoiled him in their paſſage; there the owners of diſmantled chateaus, returned to wander over the ruins of beautiful avenues and gardens moſt wantonly levelled; here the ſhepherd looking wiſtfully over the ſcanty remains of his flock, which the clemency of theſe invaders had ſpared him. At another place even this ſolicitude was rendered unneceſſary, for all that the owner was poſſeſſed of had

had been plundered, he having received only bills on the royal treaſury, an additional inſult, in return. Bridges broken down, roads impaſſable but at the rate of a league in two hours, were our habitual interruptions. Sometimes we had to make a paſſage for our carriage by the removal of the carcaſes of horſes, and often to turn from our walk not to tread on thoſe of men, to which the ſpeed of the enemy had only ſuffered them to perform half the rites, and which the charity or leiſure of the peaſant had not yet permitted him to finiſh. Of this kind of deſolation the traces we met with would be deemed incredible. Many a league we paſſed where it was impoſſible to withdraw our view at every ſtep from theſe inſtances of mortality; and in ſome places they were ſo frequent, that, unleſs means are taken by the departments to remedy this evil, if there be any in breathing air thus ſa-

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turated with putrefcence, the effects may prove abundantly faral. The triumphs even of liberty appear glorious but at a diftance. Thofe who have the higheft reliſh for the bleſſing, and prize it moſt, muſt have the love of it deeply rooted in their hearts not to ſhudder at the meaſures by which it is obtained. Rouſſeau, in his declaration that a revolution was too dear, if it coſt but the life of one citizen, had never wandered over a field of battle, or his ſenſibility, too exquiſite to adviſe its acquiſition by means ſo ferocious, would have deſtroyed, in its embryo, that fine offſpring of his genius, which has nerved the arm of the republic in its greeneſt infancy to ſtrangle the two dreadful ſerpents of the North; and whoſe gigantic manhood will, with more than Herculean force, purge the world of the remaining monſters that infeſt it.

The country deſcribed by the march

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of the Pruſſian column preſented paradiſiacal proſpects, compared with that of the Auſtrians and the emigrants. I ſhould ſlack your belief were I to recount to you all its horrors. Some circumſtances of it have made impreſſions on my mind, which will never be removed; and I am convinced that if princes, and the minions or miniſters of princes, could be compelled to feel and view bodily the miſeries they create, this great ſcourge of the human race muſt have a ſpeedy termination. The great order which reigned amongſt the Pruſſians, and their rigid diſcipline, had preſerved them from the variety of wretchedneſs which prevailed in the other army, whoſe luxury and oſtentation, when they went forth to conquer, eſpecially thoſe of the emigrant nobleſſe, could be equalled only by the miſery and deſpair that overwhelmed them in their flight. Where the principle of honour

nour was too ſtedfaſt, even amidſt theſe extreme misfortunes, to prevent them from ſtooping to the baſeneſs of robbery, they were compelled to ſell their horſes, and even their arms, to procure themſelves the means of ſubſiſtence; whilſt thoſe who had little elſe at the outſet but that honour, and the friendſhip of the emigrant princes to rely on, preſented ſpectacles that would have moved the heart of the ſterneſt republican to commiſeration. General deſcriptions intereſt us but little. The Roman rhetorician has obſerved, that a city taken by ſtorm, or an army ſlaughtered, leave little effect on the mind, whilſt we melt into tears at the minute diſtreſs of infant innocence, and ſtart up with horror at the ſhrieks of violated modeſty. Many inſtances of individual miſery we beheld in our journey, with the detail of which I would not diſtreſs you, but one was connected with an affair of our own;

own; and you must excuse the egotism of the adventures of the first, to hear the sad history of the other. We had travelled a melancholy day along roads strewed with the wrecks of men and horses, and in a country which, from its desolate and uninteresting appearance, contributed rather to render the scene more gloomy. The night was approaching when we came in sight of a lofty mountain at the distance of a league, which we were to traverse, if we meant to continue our journey; from which our guide endeavoured to persuade us, by the assurance that every step we advanced farther would be more hazardous than the last, on account of the badness of the roads and the swell of the waters; besides other dangers which we might undergo from the immediate circumstances of the country, and the unprotected state in which every thing was around us. The last beams of the setting

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ſun had for a moment gilded the top of the hill, and diſcovered to us a village, which had the appearance of being fortified, with a monaſtery and caſtle towering above the reſt, the laſt of which ſeemed, as we drew nearer, to be only an extenſive maſs of ruins. The country around it was covered with woods; and ſo far as the dim light would permit us to diſcover, the country before us wore a pleaſant contraſt with that through which we were then labouring. Independently of our wiſh to view more accurately a place which appeared ſo romantic, and the proſpect it would afford, the evening had cloſed, and, as our conductor had informed us, we found the difficulty of the road increaſed as we approached. We reſolved, therefore, to profit by his advice, to take poſſeſſion of the firſt houſe that offered, and await the return of the morning. There was no inn nearer than the town; but we

were

were informed, that we might procure accommodation at a houſe at ſome trifling diſtance, to which our conductor led us. The miſtreſs of this manſion received us with great courteſy, and offered us all the accommodation which her houſe, under the circumſtances of the late viſitation, could afford. Her welcome of ourſelves, and her invectives againſt the emigrants, were uttered with extreme volubility; but the ſame pillage and the ſame complaint were ſo common, that they paſſed at length unnoticed by us. Her misfortunes, however, were not ſo extenſive as to hinder her from giving us a very pleaſant reception. The beſt bed-room was arranged for us, and the beſt ſupper provided; both which, though in no very high ſtyle of comfort, to us hungry and disjointed were epicurean; while the ſtorm that was howling without, and which had been gathering for ſome time, gave us more than common

mon conviction of our own happineſs in having found ſuch an aſylum. Our hoſteſs without invitation joined us in our repaſt, during which ſhe gave us her hiſtory of the campaign, ſo far as her own obſervations or experience went; and related a variety of anecdote, in which was mingled a conſiderable quantity of local adventure, which, though it would ſerve very well to ſwell the volume of village memoirs, would make no conſiderable figure in general hiſtory. When we had exhauſted our ſtore of communication, we took leave of each other; and, after every one elſe had retired, and nothing was heard but the pelting of the rain, which ſeemed deſcending in torrents, and blaſts of wind mixed with thunder, to which the hoarſe ſound of falling waters at a ſlight diſtance was a continued accompaniment, I ſat down to write for an hour, having but little inclination to ſleep. It was paſt midnight when I aroſe to faſten my door;

door; but found to it neither bolt nor lock. I ſhould have paid but little attention to this circumſtance at any other time, having travelled for ſome years in France without feeling any cauſe for apprehenſion; but our local ſituation gave me a momentary uneaſineſs. Seeing a light through the crevice of a door at the end of a gallery, and ſuppoſing it to be that of the ſervant of the houſe, from whom I might procure ſome means of ſecuring our apartment, I went thither, and on my approach was ſtruck with the ſound of voices ſpeaking in loud whiſpers, as if fearful of being overheard. Curioſity led me to liſten, when I found them converſing on the route they ſhould purſue in the morning, which they ſeemed to diſcuſs with ſome warmth. A variety of oaths mingled in this converſation, all of which, from the jargon they ſpoke, I could not well underſtand; but that which I half compre-

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hended appeared to me alarming and frightful. At length I heard a woman, who was approaching the door where I ſtood, ſay diſtinctly, "that ſhe was obliged to ſtab him twice before ſhe could kill him; that he begged earneſtly for his life; and that ſomething which he wore, but which I did not well underſtand, had rendered it difficult to diſpatch him." The anſwer to this I could not diſtinctly hear, but it appeared to convey ſome remark on the deed with a reference to another murder. I knelt down, and looked through the crevice from which the light proceeded, and my alarm was not a little heightened, when I ſaw diſplayed on the table ſhirts and waiſtcoats torn and bloody, which the woman was examining during this converſation. I liſtened ſtill, and was confirmed beyond all poſſibility of doubt, from the continuance of their diſcourſe, that it was a troop of murderers,

murderers, of unexampled audacity in the commiſſion of their crimes, as they carried about with them the moſt unequivocal marks of their guilt, and were ſo little careful in the concealment; but what appeared to me ſtrange was, that, during the ſpace of near half an hour, no word eſcaped them, by which I could conjecture that they meant to take, as I had no doubt they would, our lives and property under their protection. Concluding, however, that this had been before diſcuſſed and ſettled, I withdrew to my chamber to conſider what conduct we had beſt purſue in a ſituation ſo extremely critical. I recollected ſeeing on our entrance four men and a woman in one part of the kitchen, at the fire of which I ſtaid for a few minutes to warm myſelf; and, though lately accuſtomed to ſee ſtrange figures, I could not help obſerving, that there was ſomething ſingularly ferocious in their viſages, parti-

cularly in that of the woman, whoſe haggard look diſcovered ſymptoms, as I then thought, of intoxication, and whoſe handkerchief was ſtained in two or three places with blood. I remarked alſo, that they conſidered us and our baggage with more than uſual attention as we paſſed, and ſeemed cautiouſly ſilent whilſt we remained near them. Recovering from the ſurpriſe into which this diſcovery had thrown me, I had reſolved on finding the miſtreſs of the houſe; but it ſtruck me that ſhe might be more acquainted with the profeſſion of her gueſts than ſhe ought; and that an application to her at that moment would only increaſe the danger. What led me to form this opinion was her exceſſive courteſy, which I was not at this moment ſufficiently candid to ſet down to any other account than that of finding the readier means of betraying us. It was confirmed in this conjecture,

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when I descended softly into the kitchen, and found the key taken from the door, which was doubly locked. I returned again into my chamber, and opened the shutters and the casement; but, from the pitchy darkness, could form no opinion of the height from the ground, which I fancied to be considerable; and it would have been difficult also to have wrested the bars, as we had no weapon of sufficient strength. I deliberated another moment; and the recollection of a thousand frightful stories only served to increase my apprehensions. Again I crept to the door of these murderers; but all now was silence. I retreated again to my chamber; and, after having reflected that there were no means of resistance, or hopes of escape, I determined on demanding from the hostess what she knew of her inmates, and acquainting her with my own discoveries. A moment of returning virtue

assured me, that I had accused her unjustly; and I began to flatter myself, that cruelty and death could not lurk under a form which we had found so engaging: for, though she had been a widow for some years (as she gave us a long detail of her own history), she was still young and beautiful. Leaving, therefore, my companion asleep, and whom I did not wish to awaken, because I knew that he could afford, by his advice, no means which I had not previously pursued, and his terrors could only have increased my own, I put off my boots, and stalked along to a flight of stairs at the end of the passage, to which I had attended her when she left us. This led me to another passage, and I had flattered myself that I had found her chamber, when the wind through a broken casement extinguished my candle, and left me in profound darkness. I groped around, but could not find the door, but I found the

the window, and opened it. A flash of lightning at the instant discovered the impossibility of reaching the ground unhurt; and the storm was still increasing. I leaned on the window for a few minutes; the village clock struck one; and its nearness gave me some little comfort, though I found that the wind had favoured the sound. The lightning became more frequent, and its glare directed me to the door I sought. Listening at it, I heard nothing but deep sighs, which appeared to proceed from some one who was suffering: I attempted to open it, when a man's voice convinced me that I had mistaken the room. I groped my way back with difficulty, passing still before this dreadful den, where I could hear nothing but the hard-drawn breath of those who slept, which gave me farther assurance. As I approached my chamber, my fears led me to imagine

that it had been viſited. I ſaw, indeed, no light; but, liſtening for a moment, I heard diſtinctly the footſteps as of a perſon without ſhoes: it was not my fellow-traveller, for I heard him breathe. I took out my knife, and graſped the candleſtick; for a ſmall piſtol I had in my pocket was uſeleſs from being unloaded. It appeared to me as if the perſon had concealed himſelf; for I heard no farther motion, and a tranſient view acroſs the room, from the light of the embers, which diſcovered nothing, ſeemed to favour my conjecture. I leaned againſt the wall, and could proceed no farther, for my agitation almoſt overcame me. All the horror of our ſituation ruſhed on my mind—in a frontier country, profeſſedly under no law but that of force, and alternately in the power of enemies, and friends as ſavage often as enemies—in a ſolitary houſe, where every thing was terrific—with

murderers at my door, and even, as I apprehended, in my chamber—with no means of defence againſt the expected attempt, and no hopes left of eſcaping it, I gave ourſelves up for loſt, and was reſolved to await the event without any farther exertion. I remained in this ſtate of deſpair for a few minutes, when I reſolved on awakening my fellow-traveller, and called to him from the door of the chamber, which I had not yet entered. He was too wearied to be awakened; but the object of my immediate terror leaped from the oppoſite bed, and came towards me: it happily proved to be the houſe-dog, who, finding that I had left the door open in my deſcent to the kitchen, had taken poſſeſſion of my bed. I found ſome protection in his company; and, after kiſſing him, relighted my candle, and went again in ſearch of the miſtreſs, whoſe chamber, in my firſt attempt, I had

paſſed, not obſerving a little paſſage on my right which led to it. I advanced, and, conjecturing that I had been ſucceſsful, lifted up the latch ſoftly, and entered. She was in a profound ſleep, which I took for a good omen, and ſat down by her bedſide, deliberating whether I ſhould awake her. The glare of the light, which I held cloſe to her face, to examine, whilſt ſhe had not the power of diſſimulation, whether it was that of a murderess, of which, after minute obſervance, I could not find a trace, awoke her. She ſtarted, and, I believe, for ſome moments attributed my viſit to very different motives from thoſe which brought me thither. I favoured her miſtake, though ſo injurious to my loyalty, till I found that I might ſafely communicate to her all my apprehenſions; and you may judge of the relief I obtained, when ſhe informed me, that, though the objects of my ſuſpicions were occaſional

occaſional murderers, yet we were not the game they purſued. They were, ſhe ſaid, a party of ruffians, who follow armies to plunder the dead; and who, paying tribute to thoſe whoſe office it is to bury the ſlain, often put to death the wounded to have a legal claim on what they poſſeſs. The booty which the woman had exhibited, when ſhe mentioned the murder which caught my ear, was taken from an Auſtrian officer whom ſhe killed; and I found that the diſpute which I had attended to aroſe from a difference of opinion, whether their route ſhould be in the direction of the army of Flanders, from which they hoped a more profitable harveſt, or that to which they at preſent belonged. She had requeſted them to quit her houſe, where they had been loitering the greateſt part of the day; but the ſtorm, that had come on at the cloſe of the evening, had prevented their departure, and

therefore ſhe had been obliged to ſuffer them to take up their abode, having no means of reſiſtance, in the room adjoining to ours. As ſhe had no fears herſelf, ſhe did not think it neceſſary, ſhe obſerved, to give us any alarm; but added, that, as I ſeemed yet to retain my apprehenſions, ſhe would inſtantly dreſs herſelf, and arrange a bed for me in her own room, whilſt my fellow-traveller might have the ſame accommodation in that of a young emigrant officer, whoſe chamber was at the end of the paſſage, and whom theſe ſuſpected murderers had brought in with them ſome days ſince ſick and wounded; and whoſe life they had ſpared, though he was thoroughly plundered. I viſited him in the morning, and found in the room I had miſtaken during the night, an intereſting and well-informed young man, who was the ſon of a nobleman in one of the ſouthern provinces; and who had

had followed, with reluctance, his father and elder brother to join the army of the emigrant princes. He had remonſtrated againſt this expedition with his friends, till they had ſet down his refuſal to motives injurious to his honour, and he had at length yielded to their perſuaſions in oppoſition to his principles and conſcience. He had loſt his brother early in the campaign, and had kept back from the army to attend the laſt moments of his father, who had lately died at a village a few leagues diſtant. Overcome by fatigue, as he was purſuing his courſe acroſs the frontiers to join his other friends, he had thrown himſelf down at the foot of ſome trees in the neighbouring woods, and was awakened from a ſleep into which he had inſenſibly fallen, by the imprecations of ſeveral ruffians, whoſe knives were preſented to his throat. They ſpared his life, after much entreaty, but robbed him of his watch,

and all that he had about him, except a few louis d'ors, which he had previously concealed in his boot, and which he had but just before gained from the sale of his horse. He had received a wound in his thigh, which had brought on a fever, now so increased, that, notwithstanding the skill of the village surgeon, and the kindness of his attendants, it would soon, he felt, leave him not long to lament the loss of his relations. He had left his mother and one sister in Germany, whose fate gave him more pain than even the loss of his other friends, as they had been too successful in persuading him to this enterprise; and he trembled for their lives when they should hear that their husband and brothers were no more, the cause of whose ruin they had unhappily been so earnest to promote. To comfort them amidst this wreck of their fortunes and hopes, if Heaven spared his life, now forfeited and in the power of his

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country if he ſhould be diſcovered, he was haſtening—but what ſhould he carry them back?—The tears that trickled down his cheeks, and the agitation of his mind, hindered him from proceeding further.—And this, with ſome variation, is the hiſtory of thouſands, who, with every abhorrence that a friend to liberty feels at their conſpiracy againſt it, are loud claimants on our compaſſion; for their unexampled misfortunes are plenary expiations of their crimes.

With the hiſtory of theſe individual miſeries, I could fill many a page. For all the evils that poverty, diſeaſe, and wretchedneſs can inflict, moſt of theſe emigrants ſuffer; and with heavy curſes deplore the day, when, liſtening to the counſels of chiefs and friends, they abandoned their country to fight againſt her. When taken priſoners, the law puniſhes them with inſtant death, as rebels; and what is ſingular, the Duke of Brunſwick

has insisted on no terms for their exemption. Twelve of these unhappy young men were sent up to Paris to be executed; but this legal murder the generals do not countenance, as they afford them, except in certain instances, the ready means of escape.

The last post we occupied before our arrival here was the head quarters near the pass of Croix au Bois. At a chateau but a little distant, Monsieur the King's brother first began to exercise the prerogatives of royalty, as the Lieutenant of his Majesty. The assembled emigrant noblesse had invested him with full powers; and he had, in virtue of the appointment, constituted governors and commandants of the towns and provinces which they had conquered. The enjoyment of their new posts was not of long duration, and the little jealousies that were breaking out from dissatisfaction at undeserved preferences

were

were put an end to with the authority that had given them. The pleaſures of ambition are commonly fleeting. The courſe of theſe was extremely tranſient; for the 20th of September ſhook them to their foundation; and the retreat of the Pruſſians crumbled them to duſt. A ſlight reinforcement to the French would have made this poſt more tenable: they ſucceeded in the firſt attack, when the Prince de Ligne was killed, but were compelled to yield to ſuperior force.

From all the information I could procure from the people of the poſt-houſe, where he held his laſt quarters, and who were intelligent enough to have made the remark, he was in that diſpoſition of mind the evening preceding his death to have written ſo deſpairing a letter. As the field of battle was in poſſeſſion of the French half an hour, it was probable that the letter in queſ-

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tion was found; as his body was brought home completely ſtripped, part of which was buried in the adjoining church-yard, and the reſt carried back to Germany. From this village of Bain, after having paſſed through Buzancy, we proceeded through Vereziers and Rethel to Rheims; and when we have paid our devotions at the ſhrine of this ſacred relic of royalty, the holy flaſk, we ſhall proceed on our journey to Paris.

Adieu.

LET-

LETTER VI.

Liſle, December 25, 1793.

I HAD intended to have written you my next letter from England, but theſe unexpected events have detained me—We left our patriotic and intereſting emigrées at Tournay early this morning, and have been ſpending the reſt of the day in viewing the various places of action between that town and Liſle, which have been ſo frequent during the campaign, that ſcarcely a village or a wood, if they were all to be celebrated, "would rear its head unſung." It was here, if you remember, that the French met with their firſt defeat, or rather diſ-

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honour, if any diſhonour can attach to the nation from the acts of traitors, whoſe views and intereſt being directed to the ſubverſion of the cauſe they pretended to defend, the nefarious deeds committed by them muſt be ſet down only to their own account, or that of thoſe who employed them. On our approach towards Liſle, the deſolation made by the tremendous ſiege the city had undergone, diſcovered itſelf firſt in the wrecks of trees and a village which ſtood on that ſide where the enemy had erected its works, and from which it found conſiderable ſhelter, before it was diſlodged by the balls from the town itſelf.

The heroic reſiſtance of the inhabitants and a ſmall garriſon, to one of the moſt formidable attacks that was perhaps ever made, will deſerve a very diſtinguiſhed place in hiſtory. All the knowledge that military ingenuity could furniſh, and all the force that could be-

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brought to act with effect in the manner the ſiege was conducted, have been tried in vain. The works erected by the aſſailants were immenſe and formidable beyond any example, if you will credit the report of the engineers who have viſited them, though I make every allowance for the aſſertions of a Frenchman, when the national honour is concerned.

The reduction of this city was held to be ſo important that no expence was ſpared to effect it. I ſhall not enter into any military deſcription of this ſiege, nor tell you how the entrenchments were formed in two lines, beginning from the village of Kellemenes, and ſtretching along to the ſuburbs of Fives; nor how the batteries were placed at a hundred paces from each other; becauſe deſcriptions of this ſort afford little information, and, without charts to accompany them, are altogether

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and all that he had about him, except a few louis d'ors, which he had previously concealed in his boot, and which he had but juſt before gained from the ſale of his horſe. He had received a wound in his thigh, which had brought on a fever, now ſo increaſed, that, notwithſtanding the ſkill of the village ſurgeon, and the kindneſs of his attendants, it would ſoon, he felt, leave him not long to lament the loſs of his relations. He had left his mother and one ſiſter in Germany, whoſe fate gave him more pain than even the loſs of his other friends, as they had been too ſucceſsful in perſuading him to this enterpriſe; and he trembled for their lives when they ſhould hear that their huſband and brothers were no more, the cauſe of whoſe ruin they had unhappily been ſo earneſt to promote. To comfort them amidſt this wreck of their fortunes and hopes, if Heaven ſpared his life, now forfeited and in the power of his

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With the hiſtory of theſe individual miſeries, I could fill many a page. For all the evils that poverty, diſeaſe, and wretchedneſs can inflict, moſt of theſe emigrants ſuffer; and with heavy curſes deplore the day, when, liſtening to the counſels of chiefs and friends, they abandoned their country to fight againſt her. When taken priſoners, the law puniſhes them with inſtant death, as rebels; and, what is ſingular, the Duke of Brunſwick

which they told us formerly were ſtreets, we found only one inhabitant, a poor old woman, whoſe fortreſs had held out the fury of the ſiege, and who had not quitted her poſt amidſt the general wreck. It was proof indeed againſt balls or bombs, being two or three fathoms under ground; and here we found her undiſturbed, though full of lamentations for the loſs of her neighbourhood. The common danger had levelled all diſtinctions—a family whoſe dwelling had been deſtroyed, without ceremony became incorporated with another, and the exchange to the poorer claſs was in general for the better, as they found very comfortable accommodations, and pretty ſafe protection, in that quarter where the ariſtocracy heretofore reſided, of whoſe houſes they took poſſeſſion, as the enemy were careful in not deſtroying the property of their allies. The church of St. Stephen, a noble edifice, was burnt

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were put an end to with the authority that had given them. The pleaſures of ambition are commonly fleeting. The courſe of theſe was extremely tranſient; for the 29th of September ſhook them to their foundation; and the retreat of the Pruſſians crumbled them to duſt. A ſlight reinforcement to the French would have made this poſt more tenable: they ſucceeded in the firſt attack, when the Prince de Ligne was killed, but were compelled to yield to ſuperior force.

From all the information I could procure from the people of the poſt-houſe, where he held his laſt quarters, and who were intelligent enough to have made the remark, he was in that diſpoſition of mind the evening preceding his death to have written ſo deſpairing a letter. As the field of battle was in poſſeſſion of the French half an hour, it was probable that the letter in queſ-

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Adieu.

LET-

LETTER VI.

Lisle, December 23, 1793.

I HAD intended to have written you my next letter from England, but these unexpected events have detained me—We left our patriotic and interesting emigrées at Tournay early this morning, and have been spending the rest of the day in viewing the various places of action between that town and Lisle, which have been so frequent during the campaign, that scarcely a village or a wood, if they were all to be celebrated, "would rear its head unsung." It was here, if you remember, that the French met with their first defeat, or rather dis-

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honour, if any diſhonour can attach to the nation from the acts of traitors, whoſe views and intereſt being directed to the ſubverſion of the cauſe they pretended to defend, the nefarious deeds committed by them muſt be ſet down only to their own account, or that of thoſe who employed them. On our approach towards Liſle, the deſolation made by the tremendous ſiege the city had undergone, diſcovered itſelf firſt in the wrecks of trees and a village which ſtood on that ſide where the enemy had erected its works, and from which it found conſiderable ſhelter, before it was diſlodged by the balls from the town itſelf.

The heroic reſiſtance of the inhabitants and a ſmall garriſon, to one of the moſt formidable attacks that was perhaps ever made, will deſerve a very diſtinguiſhed place in hiſtory. All the knowledge that military ingenuity could furniſh, and all the force that could be-

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brought to act with effect in the manner the ſiege was conducted, have been tried in vain. The works erected by the aſſailants were immenſe and formidable beyond any example, if you will credit the report of the engineers who have viſited them, though I make every allowance for the aſſertions of a Frenchman, when the national honour is concerned.

The reduction of this city was held to be ſo important that no expence was ſpared to effect it. I ſhall not enter into any military deſcription of this ſiege, nor tell you how the entrenchments were formed in two lines, beginning from the village of Kellemenes, and ſtretching along to the ſuburbs of Fives; nor how the batteries were placed at a hundred paces from each other; becauſe deſcriptions of this ſort afford little information, and, without charts to accompany them, are altogether

compound with error that is miſchievous, or yield to prejudices that prevent the progreſs of knowledge; but this general eracination, which I fear the French will endeavour to enforce, will not be tolerated here; for with the tares the wheat muſt be torn up alſo. As yet, however, the French have been received with joy as friends, and hailed with gratulation as deliverers. If they are wiſe they will not take too much advantage of this gratitude, too faithleſs a foundation in the multitude to build much upon, but will ſhow, by their forbearance and moderation, that they deſerve liberty themſelves, whilſt they are willing to extend it to others; not by forcing on every country they enter, every principle which the mature ſoil of France has brought to imaginary perfection, and which it believes to be eſſential to the poſſeſſion of entire freedom; but by

leaving others to the choice of thoſe principles, and the application of ſuch as will ſuit their peculiar circumſtances: and if theſe are ſufficient for the enjoyment of as much liberty as gives the moſt practical means of happineſs, the whole end of all good government is fully anſwered. This is no apology for deſpotiſm in any of its forms: it is an expreſſion only of my wiſhes, that the French, in entering a country the manners of which are different from their own, would conſider the neceſſary diſcordance of Belgian habits and French principles, and how fatal it will be to the intereſts of both to perſiſt, as I fear they will, in perſecuting their new allies with theories of which they themſelves do not know the reſult, and of which they have not yet felt the benefit. As yet, it is impoſſible to form any juſt opinion of the reception thoſe principles will meet with, or how the ſyſtem of fraternization, be-

gun in Savoy, will be welcomed here. If the ſame motives influence the will of the Belgians at preſent, as directed their actions in the laſt revolution they attempted, France and Brabant, happily for both, will remain two diſtinct ſtates: for if the prieſts and nobles, according to the French ſyſtem, are precluded the exertion of their influence, the primary aſſemblies, about to be called, may vote the union; but a civil war, without great precaution, will be the conſequence. The people, however, are too much occupied at this moment about their immediate exiſtence, and the means of continuing it, to enter into any analyſis of government. If France is determined therefore to fraternize here, ſhe will take advantage of the indeciſion of the people, and fix their deſtiny to her own; but ſhe muſt take care that no ill conduct, on her part, ſhall excite the ſpirit of enquiry into the ſtratagem, or the courſe of popular

pular favour will turn againſt the deceit. Theſe obſervations will not pleaſe our fraternizing friends, the citizens ——— of ——— who talk ſo rapturouſly of realizing the beatific viſions of the Abbé St. Pierre. But the truth is, that though the French may not be going too far, they ſeem to be going too faſt; and the ſtubborn habits of this generation muſt paſs away, which they ſcarcely will but with the generation itſelf, before theſe great principles of liberty and human happineſs give all the benefit to be expected from them, on the ſoil even where they are ſprung.

Our journey into Brabant, or rather the emigration hither of the party we attended, was highly agreeable and intereſting in more views than thoſe I have related. We made but little delay till we arrived near the frontiers, paſſing a few hours at Peronne, where we arrived very late, and which we left very

early, and remaining a ſhort ſpace at Cambray and Valenciennes, where we fell in with the route of Dumourier in his march towards Bruſſels, when he left the plains of Chalons, the Ultima Thulé of the Duke of Brunſwick. Nothing of any importance occurred to Dumourier till he had paſſed Valenciennes, beyond which the enemy had poſted themſelves to prevent his farther progreſs. During the march of this army from St. Menehould hither, Cuſtine's had taken poſſeſſion of Spires, Worms, and the other towns on the Rhine, and was proceeding to Mentz and Frankfort; whilſt the general on the ſide of the Alps had entered Savoy, the inhabitants of which received them joyfully; and Nice, with her dependencies, had yielded to the arms of the republic in the ſame diſpoſition of fraternity. Dumourier had promiſed to winter in Bruſſels, and, in imitation of the Duke of Brunſwick,

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ſent forward his manifeſto, declaratory of his intentions in the invaſion. There was nothing common in theſe two manifeſtoes but the name. He informs them, that under the influence of the late government of France, they had received no aſſiſtance but ſuch as the perfidy of the court lent for the purpoſe of betraying: that it was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of liberty, that this perfidious deſpotiſm ſhould be cruſhed, and royalty itſelf aboliſhed, to give all its energy to this ſacred cauſe, and inſpire a perfect confidence in the French republic, and in the armies ſent to their aſſiſtance:—that, on entering their country, they meant only to aſſiſt them in planting the tree of liberty, without touching in one ſingle point the fabric of the conſtitution they ſhould think fit to rear, provided this conſtitution were the free and unbiaſſed choice of the people; and if they would, as a meaſure of common ſafety, withdraw

themſelves from the yoke they had ſo long groaned under, the French would become their brethren, their friends, and allies: that their property and laws ſhould, in the minuteſt points, be treated with the greateſt reſpect, and that the French armies ſhould be models of diſcipline amongſt them. Theſe proſpects and promiſes were ſo fair and flattering, that it is not wonderful that a people, who have ſo long and ſo often ſtruggled for their liberty, ſhould liſten with joy to this harbinger of good tidings. Dumourier had then to realize what he promiſed, and he has in part performed it. The battle of Gemmappe will long be remembered, not more for the obſtinate valour with which it was fought, than its being the probable means of ſecuring to the Belgians their liberty and independence. The Auſtrians having abandoned Liſle, had drawn up their forces to this point to oppoſe Dumourier's

mourier's paſſage, and many ſkirmiſhes of little note, except one which paſſed at Bouſſu, a league from Gemmappe, led on this memorable day. At the village of Bouſſu the Auſtrians loſt about ſix hundred men, and the bravery with which they diſputed the ground gave the French ſome pre-ſentiment of what they had to contend with before they made good their engagement of wintering in Bruſſels. The poſt of Bouſſu was nevertheleſs forced; and ſo unexpected was the ſucceſs, or even the attack, on the part of the Auſtrians, that a large party of the officers had prepared a magnificent ſupper for the entertainment of ſome newly-arrived friends, which was juſt ready on the arrival of the French, who took poſſeſſion of it as a part of the ſpoil.

On the 5th of November, Dumourier came in full view of the enemy, poſted on the heights of Gemmappe. This is a

ſmall village about a mile and a half from the town of Mons, of no importance but as it furniſhed a name to this event. The poſition of the enemy was highly favourable: their right was protected by this village, and the river which had overflowed the adjoining plain; and their left by woods, between which, on the range in front, were conſtructed three rows of redoubts, furniſhed with nearly one hundred pieces of artillery of various deſcriptions. If the French had confined themſelves to their cannon, as they did at the affair of La Lune, they would have fought to a conſiderable diſadvantage, from the ſuperior poſition of the enemy. But the ſoldiers were anxious to come to cloſer quarters; and the generals commanding the various diviſions ſolicited Dumouriez to lead them on to the attack. Dumouriez, who partook of their ardour, repreſſed it for the moment, to excite it

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the more; but at length gave orders to ſtorm the works at noon. The neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for this effect. Gemmappe was carried by Bournonville, on the right: the village of Carignan, at the bottom of the hill, was taken in front: the enemy were diſlodged from the woods on the left: the important criſis was drawing near—Dumourier, whoſe knowledge of the human mind, and the various circumſtances that influence it, is not leſs than his military ſkill, preſented himſelf in the front of the line, and taking off his coat and waiſtcoat, at the ſame inſtant, by a ſignal, ordered the muſic, which had been hitherto ſilent, to ſtrike up the Marſeillois ſong! The day was remarkably ſerene, ſo that the muſic was every where diſtinctly heard, and the more ſo as the firing had ceaſed on the ſide of the French, and the only accompaniment was the thunder of the

enemy.

enemy. The line of redoubts being formed amphitheatrically, the troops were arranged in this form alſo, ſo that every ſoldier had the means of viewing the general, and became more animated every inſtant. This was the deciſive moment. The troops, raiſed to the higheſt pitch of enthuſiaſm, regardleſs of the murderous fire kept up againſt them from the redoubts, crying out, "Vive la Nation!" and joining in the chorus of this celebrated ſong, ruſhed forward with wonderful rapidity, and took poſſeſſion of the firſt redoubts. The cavalry of the enemy, charging on the flanks, threw the columns into ſome confuſion, and they were repelled with difficulty, during which the ſecond line of redoubts was carried; when the Auſtrians, ſeeing the ardour and reſolution of the French troops, became panic-ſtruck, and yielded the third without much reſiſtance. This terror, though

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it was pretty general, operated differently —the Auſtrians fled, but ſome of the works, filled with Hungarian troops, were gained only when every ſoldier had fallen. The loſs of the enemy Dumourier computed at four or five thouſand; that of the French at nine hundred, both killed and wounded. The numbers I have reaſon to believe were more equal. For the time it laſted, never was a battle more obſtinately fought, or a more ſignal victory, conſidering all its circumſtances, obtained. Since then the Auſtrians have had but little inclination to diſpute the conqueſt of Brabant; for the little ſkirmiſhes that have taken place on entering Bruſſels can ſcarcely be called an oppoſition. It has deſtroyed alſo aſſertions which had been made, that French courage was not equal to any enterpriſe where the danger was very imminent; for here there was not a ſoldier that did not partake perſonally of the buſineſs of the

the day; and feats were performed not ſurpaſſed in any hiſtory. General Egalité, who has been in our party from Paris, who has walked over the ground with us, and fought again the battle, was one who contributed moſt ſignally to its ſucceſs. Dumourier had praiſed him cautiouſly to the Convention: but I ſhould have ſpoken of him as he deſerved, and praiſed him more, ſays he, in a private letter to one of my friends, had he not been a prince.

Dumourier's valet de chambre rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons, and two battalions of national guards; and Breteche, a Lieutenant in the national gendarmerie, retired only when he had killed ſeven men, and received forty-one wounds with ſabres*. One of theſe heroes we found

* This has much the air of romance. Bourſonville, however, preſented this hero at the bar of the

found at Bouſſu almoſt covered with wounds, but whoſe loſs of blood had not at all diminiſhed the vigour of his patriotiſm.—Dumourier ſummoned the town to ſurrender: the next day the magiſtrates ſent him the keys, which he returned, and the people received the French as brothers. From Mons he proceeded forwards, through Bruſſels, to Liege; and if he be properly ſupported, no enemy will appear on this ſide of the Rhine before the cloſe of the winter. That this ſupport will be given him appears very problematical, if one may judge from the ſpirit of rancour and undue ſeverity which is now agitating Paris againſt the king, in the diſcuſſion of whoſe fate

the Convention—where his wounds were numbered, his ſervices recorded, and his patriotiſm rewarded by a civic crown, beſtowed by the preſident!—He is ſince gone back to fight again the battles of his country.

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the Convention will loſe ſight of the more important fate of the country, and ſpend thoſe precious moments, in which they ſhould prepare for the future, in unneceſſary invectives againſt the abuſes of the paſt. If any credit is to be given to the report, the army is diminiſhing daily; not only from the return of the volunteers to their homes, but from the extreme diſtreſs to which it is reduced. I have juſt ſeen a letter from the commiſſaries, which confirms this account: it ſtates, that in their viſit to the camp, though they beheld the ſoldiers full of courage, and expreſſing their wiſhes to be led on to farther conqueſts; they could not regard, without the higheſt indignation, the deſtitute condition to which theſe brave men are reduced. Their coats, ſay they, are nothing but pieces of cloth, badly ſewn together; the greateſt part have neither ſhirts nor waiſtcoats; they have no cloaks

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to cover their firelocks when it rains, and in this wretched ſtate they are doomed to reſiſt, as well as they can, the rigours of the winter. Of the ſick the condition ſeems to be worſe. Theſe poor wretches have neither mattreſſes nor coverlets, and are obliged to remain ſtretched on the boards, with a ſcanty portion of ſtraw only. This neglect, after a campaign ſo extremely fatiguing, is highly criminal: I cannot even divine the cauſe*. The commiſſaries obſerve, that they have not yet diſcovered it; and add, that Dumourier complains of the manner in which the miniſter of war correſponds with him; acquainting them that all the letters which he receives from the various generals in his army are filled with the ſame hiſtories of their ſufferings and their wants. This diſorganization may be yet repaired, and this

* See the notes at the end.

exceſs

exceſs of evil ſtill remedied. But there muſt be more vigilance and better diſpoſitions than appear at preſent, either in the miniſter or the Convention; in the office of the firſt of which, I am told, there is more venality and intrigue than ever exiſted in any bureau under the old regime; and in the latter, violence and party are domineering over every project that has for its object the tranquillity or ſafety of the republic. This ſtate of things however cannot laſt long. If it unhappily ſhould, farewell to all thoſe delightful viſions, which we have been lately accuſtomed to flatter ourſelves as realized! whilſt the rights of man, after their progreſs towards a firm eſtabliſhment, by the opinions of philoſophers, the ſwords of freemen, and the fiat of an enlightened people, prove themſelves fitted only for ſubjects of ſophiſtic contention, to noiſy and turbulent diſputants, or become in reality thoſe "pal-

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try blurred ſhreds of paper," denounced with prophetic fury by the indignant, but hitherto diſregarded declaimer. If this ſtate of ferocious anarchy continue much longer within, and no more attention be paid to the condition of their protectors, the armies without, the Convention will cry in vain to ſurrounding nations, "Be free:" for it will be anſwered, that if ſuch are the bleſſings of liberty; if with all theſe fancied aſſurances of ſocial order and public happineſs, nothing but evils preſent themſelves now, and clouds and thick darkneſs hang on the future; we had rather bear the pains of deſpotiſm, of which we can appreciate the meaſure, than fly for refuge to a ſtate of political exiſtence over which even deſpotiſm has many advantages. This, indeed, is the language of men who have much leſs reliſh for freedom, than ſelfiſh concern for their own perſonal repoſe. But ſuch will alſo be

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the language of men who look, as moſt do, little farther than the preſent moment; though the hiſtory of former times inſtructs us, how ſuperior is that ſtate of ſociety in which civil broils for political rights continually diſturb the ſtate, and which, nevertheleſs, is flouriſhing in arts, enriched by philoſophy, and great in population, to that of deſpotiſm, which can boaſt of its order only when it makes a ſolitude, and which it then dignifies with the name of peace. For ſuperior ſurely was Greece, even when the aſſaſſination of tyrants was the Marſeillois ſong of the people, and the avowed corruption of its conſtituted protectors awoke the thunder of Demoſthenes; to Greece of the preſent hour, the tranquil province of an ignorant barbarian, and the peaceful habitation of ſlaves: and greater ſurely was Rome, even when agitated by the contentions of the heated multitude, torn by factions, diminiſhed

niſhed by civil wars, and horrid proſcriptions, compared with preſent Rome, the ſeat of prieſtly government and ſacerdotal protection; of the ſcanty inhabitants of whoſe waſted domains, the poverty and ſuperſtition have become proverbial. France, however, is too enlightened to dread a ſimilar fate, though ſhe may have long to contend with numerous evils. Infeſted as ſhe is by traitors within, and menaced by a hoſt of foes from without, ſhe will yet be ſuſpicious; and of ſuſpicion ferocity is the conſtant attendant. It cannot be expected that a nation, the ſafety of which has depended on the entire infraction of the laws, will at once be very obſervant of any; and if this temporary violation of order be not reduced to a ſyſtem, we muſt not complain, that the genius of liberty, in ruſhing forwards to ſtrike at the formidable hoſts of its external foes, ſhould cruſh, with unre-

unrelenting ſtep, the pigmies of ariſtocracy or deſpotiſm which ſtood in its way, and obſtructed the energy of its march.

This is the point where the campaign finiſhes; for there is a phyſical impoſſibility that the army, in its preſent ſtate, can proceed much farther. I am not informed what the project of the executive council is, but ſuppoſe it means to make the Rhine the boundary of its conqueſts; though Cuſtine, in taking poſſeſſion of Frankfort, preſents views of more gigantic ambition. This will never do. The fate of the Duke of Brunſwick is a leſſon ſufficiently ſtriking: but they will be compelled, I fear, to feel the ſcourge of adverſity themſelves; and undergo its impreſſive experience, in order to profit by the example. The force directed ſo uſeleſsly againſt Frankfort, might have ſeized on Coblentz; and if Dumourier be re-inforced, and

properly

properly ſupported, the whole country between the Moſelle and the Meuſe may be cleared from the enemy, except Luxembourg, which, in that caſe, would fall of itſelf.

The Rhine will then form the boundary of Liberty; and in extending freedom thus far the French think themſelves perſonally concerned. As for the reſt, it is the uſe alone which they themſelves will make of it, that will afford examples of imitation to others, and recommend its acquiſition to the courage of ſurrounding nations.

CORRESPONDENCE

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 235.

The correſpondence between Pache the Miniſter of War, and Dumourier, has unveiled this myſtery. Some extracts from this correſpondence are ſubjoined, which will explain the cauſe of the late events.

I AM quite averſe to every offenſive and external war, particularly every war which carries us beyond our natural limits, that is to ſay, the Alps and Pyrennees on the ſouth, and the Rhine on the north and north-eaſt. I ſhould have been even averſe to the invaſion of the Low Countries, if I did not ſee, in the liberty

liberty of our neighbours, a barrier more ſolid, and much leſs expenſive, than that of fortified places.

Correſpondence of Dumourier with the Miniſter of War, publiſhed in Paris Nov. 10, 1792.

GENERAL Cuſtine is an excellent ſoldier; he has given proofs of it: but he ſhewed only the phyſical force of war; he has perceived neither its moral tendency nor its political reſults. His intention was to aſſiſt us in clearing the Low Countries; but his conduct and his intention are at utter variance; for, if we go into Germany, if we even croſs the Rhine, we ſhall know neither where we are going, nor how we ſhall return. Our war will become a war of adventures, ruinous both in men and money.

Correſpondence of Dumourier, Nov. 10, 1792.

You

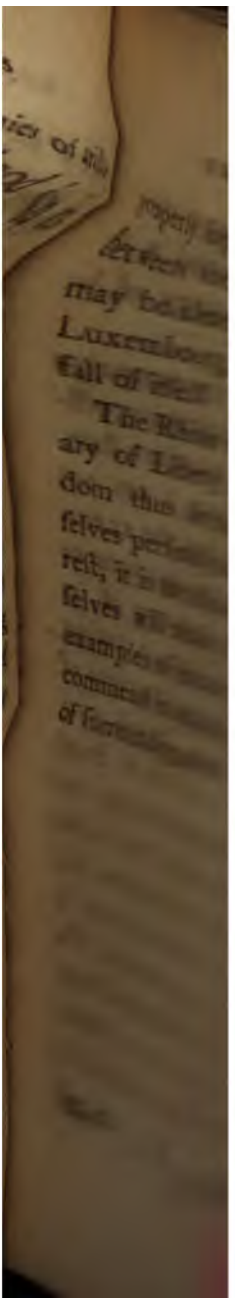
You have aſked my advice on the plans of Cuſtine; I have ſent them to you. You inform me that you approve them: nevertheleſs, by the orders which you have given Bournonville, and by your laſt letters, it appears to me that you have followed a plan totally oppoſite. I have juſt learned that Frankfort is taken by aſſault by the Auſtrians. Whether the news be true or falſe, it is not leſs true that Cuſtine has ſtrangely committed himſelf. Le Brun ſends to me, on the 30th, that he was very uneaſy: it is not leſs true, that the egregious fault of not taking Coblentz may coſt us all the ſucceſs of this war, becauſe there is no poſſible means of re-union between the army of Alſace and that of Belgia.

Correſpondence of Dumourier.

I SEE with concern, that you diſapprove the contract made the 8th of this month by the commiſſaries in chief, Malus and Simon of Dunkirk, for the ſubſiſtence of the army in Brabant. I muſt obſerve, that it is by means of this contract that the army has been ſerved ſince that period: if it had not been ſo, it would have periſhed with hunger.—At the moment which was to decide the fate of Belgia and the ſucceſs of our arms, the magazines were empty; no ſubſiſtence; reſources diſtant and uncertain; and conſequently the motions of the army impoſſible. You will not take it amiſs that I have concluded, on terms very advantageous for the republic, a contract which has prepared the ſucceſs of my campaign, and without which I ſhould have had no food for my army, nor forage for my cavalry.

Correſpondence of Dumourier, Nov. 23, 1792.

Decrees



I own to you, that had you purpoſely meant to diſorganize the army, and arreſt its march, you could not have choſen a more diſaſtrous method than depriving me of two commiſſaries known by their abilities and their honeſty, and of an undertaker able and full of reſources.

I am perſuaded beforehand, that theſe citizens will clear themſelves from the imputations which are laid againſt them, and which are a part of thoſe odious conſpiracies which I have already denounced to the miniſter of war. But it is not leſs true, that all my reſources are taken from me, and I am placed in a ſituation to loſe the campaign, by being thus deprived of the only men who were able to provide for the ſupport of the army. I charge Colonel Weſterman with the care of the citizens Malus and Leſſagnac, who, ſo far from fearing, have requeſted me to be ſent as expeditiouſly as poſſible to confound their enemies.

Dumourier to the Miniſter of Juſtice.

It is time for me to develop all the energy of my character, and to diſplay all the indignation which I feel againſt any thing which betrays the expedition with which I am charged, and the means which are uſed to thwart and ruin it. You have given me as an aſſiſtant General Bourdonnaye, who takes every method to bring civil war into this country, to expoſe our weak garriſons to be murdered, and to cauſe our nation to be abhorred. This is not all: I have been promiſed, and you yourſelf have done it in your letters, all the means of ſubſiſtence, camp equipage, clothing, hoſpitals; and I ſee nothing but partial ſupplies arriving, ſo that half my army want neceſſaries. You have promiſed me money; I have received none, and the paymaſter of the army who is arrived has brought but very little. — — — —

Thus it is that 60,000 men, beyond their frontiers, are delivered up to want and diſorder. If after all the obſtacles which I meet with on the part of the French, they accompliſh their end of ruining the expedition, on which depend the glory and ſafety of my country; when I ſhall arrive at Liege, when I ſhall have placed on the Meuſe the army which I command, and when, by the poſition of its quarters, the conqueſt of the Low Countries ſhall be aſſured, I will ſend to the Convention my diſmiſſion, with my reaſons, to avoid being perſonally attainted by the plots with which they ſeek to ruin all my operations, and to hinder myſelf from becoming the inſtrument of tyranny or of avarice.

Correſpondence of Dumourier,
Nov. 27, 1792.

LIEUT-

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Egalité, who has my permiſſion to go to Paris on a family affair important and affecting, conveys to you theſe diſpatches. — — — — I own to you that, in general, this ſyſtem of denunciation is eſtabliſhed with ſo dreadful a rapidity, that it cannot but alarm the beſt citizens; becauſe it nouriſhes ſuſpicions and animoſities, which poiſon all the mildneſs and fraternity of this riſing republic; throws us into a ſeries of proſcriptions, which take their ſituations from the agents of the republic before they are judged, and which ſubſtitute the accuſers in place of the accuſed, oftentimes to reward them for a calumny, or for a denunciation built on very ſlight grounds.

Correſpondence of Dumourier,
Liege, Nov. 29, 1792.

THE army diminiſhes daily in a moſt alarming degree: I have not more than 21,000 men under my command: there are few battalions that amount to 300 men, and companies are reduced to ſeven or eight. The decree which declares the country out of danger, has made the greateſt part of the volunteers think that they are free to go: a great number have departed without leave: amongſt thoſe that remain, the greateſt part, and almoſt whole battalions, having made their declaration two months ſince, demand their diſmiſſion on the 1ſt of December, that is to ſay, to-morrow; and if the National Convention do not take very ſpeedy meaſures, I ſhall not be able, according to the terms of the decree, to retain any.

The revolution is very far from being effected in Brabant. The cabal of Pruſſia, Orange, and Vandernoot, of the prieſts and the ſtates, reigns over three-fourths

of the country, &c. — — — — You will obſerve alſo, that I am very far from being aſſured of the Dutch. The opening of the Scheld cannot but diſpleaſe them extremely. I ſhould not be aſtoniſhed if England and Pruſſia ſhould excite the Stadtholder to declare his reſentment. There is a garriſon of 9000 men in Maeſtricht, and preparations are making which indicate at leaſt ill-will. I cannot engage to march forwards before I know the reſolution of the Dutch; for if they fall on my left, whilſt the Auſtrians fall on my right, the army of the republic would be loſt without reſource, and the liberties of Liege and the Low Countries would be ruined for ever.

Correſpondence of Dumourier,
Liege, Nov. 30, 1792.

IT is thus that, contrary to the intentions of Cambon, I am obliged to be the leader and proviſioner of the army I command: it is thus that it is without bread, forage, or money. Judge what ought to be my indignation when I ſee that all theſe objects are preſented falſely to the National Convention; when I ſee the adminiſtration totally diſorganized, and replaced by men who themſelves acknowledge their incapacity to render any ſervice; when I ſee the army wanting every thing, and becoming the victim of thoughtleſſneſs and avarice; when I ſee, finally, all my plans thwarted, my campaign perhaps ruined, and my reputation attacked by men guilty themſelves or deceived by others.

Correſpondence of Dumourier,
Decem. 2d, 1792.

It ſeems that for ſome time paſt all your deciſions tend to diſorganize the army, and reduce it to deſpair. — — When the decree paſſed which takes from the general the nomination to military employ, I ſubmitted without heſitation: but I own that your bureau have made a horrid abuſe of it. It is thus that the army I command is ſtuffed with adjutants and co-adjutants, who know not a word of their trade. Amongſt others, they have ſent us an adjutant, a pupil of Mr. Veſtries. I ſhould have no objection to his profeſſion, and ſhould paſs by his title, if he had as many brains in his head as he has ſuppleneſs in his joints and lightneſs in his heels. The intention of the decree has been, without doubt, not to leave to the generals the means of making too many creatures in the army by their nominations; but they ought at leaſt to be conſulted for the higher commands

mands and places of truſt; and eſpecially the choice ought to fall on officers known by the ſoldiers, and who have their confidence.

Correſpondence of Dumourier,
Decem. 2d, 1792.

You

You have broken all my meaſures by a falſe parſimony, by a narrow niggardlineſs, which will fall back on the nation, and ruin both you and your agents. When I have come to this open declaration of war with you, it is not againſt you perſonally that I declare. But I have been the ſcape-goat of guilty men, who have reduced the army I command to the moſt wretched extremities. You have preſented falſe ſtatements to the National Convention and my friends: recollect yourſelf ſpeedily; you will be reſponſible both for the loſs of time, and the ruin of a victorious army.

Correſpondence of Dumourier,
Decem. 7th, 1792.

You

You tell me you are not a military man. But this excuſe is of little avail, ſince you ought to conſult me or follow my plans. You or your colleagues have committed an irreparable fault. I acknowledge the virtues of the citizen Roland. When you ſhall read to him my letter in the council, he will be ſenſible of the great injury he has done the republic from his little ſuſpicions reſpecting victorious generals, and his pretended auſterity on my moral character. It is not by little houſehold virtues, or narrow ſuſpicions, that the affairs of a great nation are to be conducted. All the precautions that have been directed againſt me, might have been directed againſt a little ambitious intriguer like La Fayette, &c.

Dumourier's letter, dated the 8th of December, contains his reaſons at length for not obeying the order of the Executive Council, which decreed, that the army

army ſhould not go into winter quarters till the enemy had been puſhed beyond the Rhine. The impoſſibility of executing it is apparent from the extracts already given. In this letter he details them more at length: the picture he draws is affecting—"Above all, I declare to you, that the troops have ſuffered ſo much, that they are entirely diſcouraged, that their miſery has deſtroyed all ideas of diſcipline.—I owe to my country the truth—I proteſt againſt the decree of the council, becauſe it is not to be executed, and chimerical.—With this opinion, if the council perſiſt, it would be impoſſible to charge me with the execution." — — — —

Dumou-

Dumourier's Correſpondence with the Commiſſaries, Dec. 10, 1792.

CITIZENS Commiſſaries, you ſee daily yourſelves how rapid the diſorganization of this army is: how guilty are the men who under a falſe pretence of œconomy have broken contracts, which you are now ſeeking to re-eſtabliſh, and which only afford us the means of ſubſiſtence from day to day. It will coſt many millions to repair, and that imperfectly, the evil which they have done. — —

I demand juſtice for the crime they have committed againſt the Nation, in reducing this unhappy army to a ſituation more diſaſtrous than if it had loſt battles; and depriving it, by a monopolizing infamous ſyſtem, of the great reſources which the Low Countries offered of every kind. — — —

The

The avarice of the monopoliſts has led them to make uſe of you to break the contracts; which muſt now be re-eſtabliſhed to hinder the army from dying expreſsly of hunger. As to your clothing, &c. your contracts are ſtill worſe. I can have ſhoes at Liege for three livres fifteen ſous, and the ſhoes are excellent; and you ſend me deteſtable ſhoes, that coſt ſeven or eight livres. Your capottes coſt fifty or ſixty francs, and do not laſt two months; whilſt the citizen Malus, on whom your bureaus throw all their own faults, would have found here a ſtuff more ſolid and warm, and which would have coſt only from twenty-five to thirty. — — —

Every day renders our poſition more alarming. What can I do with our great artillery? where ſhall I find horſes? What ſhall I do with the army itſelf? without ſtraw, with tents torn and rotten, without clothes or ſhoes at this inſtant.

My

My health is entirely ruined, as much by the fatigues of two campaigns, extremely rigorous, during which I have not ſpared myſelf more than the ſoldiers, as well as through chagrin and vexation; which have too much affected me, in ſeeing the deſtitute condition of my brave comrades. It is abſolutely indiſpenſable for me to take a little repoſe, being really indiſpoſed, and having moreover my breaſt dangerouſly affected.

Correſpondence of Dumourier to Pache, Liege, Decem. 18, 1792.

AFTER

After reading this correſpondence, of which theſe extracts form a part, the retreat of the French from the Low Countries, and the failure of the expedition againſt Holland, remain ſufficiently accounted for. Dumourier's letter to the Convention, which fear or prudence hindered them from reading, but which he himſelf has publiſhed, will explain all the reſt.

Ex-

Extracts from Dumourier's *Correſpondence with* Miranda.

THE firſt letter, dated the 10th of January, contains a detail of the intended operations in Holland, which were to have begun with an attack on Zealand; but the project was laid aſide by the advice of Miranda. Of the ſpirit of fraterniſation which was to have been promoted in the Low Countries, by an interchange of good offices, an extract from Dumourier's inſtructions will afford us a ſpecimen.

You will go to Antwerp, you will be joined there by the Dutch patriots, who will bring you carts, and conduct you, knowing themſelves the eaſineſs of this expedition. The miniſter of marine gives orders to prepare furnaces, &c. in each of the three gun-boats, to fire with red-hot balls. Theſe three boats draw

draw but little water, and will eaſily drive off the frigates (the Engliſh frigates) by the ſuperiority of their fire and the heat of their ſhot. Take as a pretence for your journey to Antwerp the borrowing of eight millions of florins, which you ought to make there. As I have prepared it, exact this demand with ſeverity, and inform this city, its clergy, and its merchants, that the French will no longer be the dupes of its malevolence; that they will levy by contribution what they ſhould otherwiſe borrow; that you know who are the capitaliſts, and that you ſhall take from them, and leave them to arrange it with their fellow-citizens. Tell them that I am labouring to procure the repeal of the decree of the 15th of December. — — — Get a liſt of the rich; call them individually to the Hotel de Ville, keep them there, and do not releaſe them till they have reſolved to comply, either with

good will or by compulſion. If it is with good will, take immediately two millions of florins for the expence of the expedition. If it is by compulſion, impoſe on one fifty thouſand, on others more, others leſs, according to their rank; and order the payment in eight days, keeping them under guard. Do the ſame thing with the clergy, but ſeparately from the merchants. During this rigorous operation, which alone can ſave the French and Belgic armies, combine with the Dutch patriots the plan, &c.

Dumourier to Miranda, Paris Jan. 10.

— — — ALL depends on diſpatch and ſecrecy.—I will unfold my plan from day to day: it is precipitate—becauſe events preſs on us, and we have not a day to loſe. Prepare

pare it then without loſs of time. If I find more obſtacles here, whether they ariſe from the indeciſion of the executive council, from the ſlowneſs of committees, or the ſavage diviſion of the factions, I will daily inform you of them. Finally, if no one will hear me, if ſuſpicions, bad faith, the ſpirit of faction, niggardlineſs, more ruinous even than ſordid, are placed between me and the ſalvation of my country, I will give in my diſmiſſion, and weep in ſome other corner the fate of my blinded countrymen.

Dumourier to Miranda, Paris Jan. 10.

I THINK your plan extremely difficult to be executed, from the ſituation and abſolute nakedneſs in which our armies and magazines at preſent are. If you would leave out of your plan the expe-

dition into Zealand, it would be much more practicable, as far as I can ſee; and we ſhould not have to commit ourſelves with the naval forces of England and Holland, who would not fail to ſtop us at the beginning of our enterpriſe; having on our ſide no maritime forces to oppoſe to them.

Remember, General, that it was the Zealanders, with their boats, who firſt arreſted the hitherto victorious land-forces of the tyrant Philip; and moreover, that Zealand will fall of itſelf when the reſt ſhall be taken.

Miranda to Dumourier, Liege Jan. 15.

I THINK that if war be decided on between us, Holland and England, we muſt only make a falſe attack on Zealand, and then ſeize on Maeſtricht, Venlo, Guelders, Emmerick, fall back on Nimeguen, and by the heights of Amersfort,

Amersfort, hem Utrecht, gain the ſluices of Muyden, where Marſhal Luxembourg failed in 1672; and then we ſhall arrive without difficulty at Amſterdam. In this campaign, which muſt be neceſſarily expeditious, and which I have a long time meditated, we muſt reckon but little on the aſſiſtance of the patriots, and truſt only to our own forces, and means of conqueſt.

Dumourier to Miranda, Paris Jan. 19.

I WILL not ſpeak to you of the events of this country. I endeavour to prepare every thing as if I were to make the campaign; and it is ſtill very poſſible that I ſhall not make it, for nothing is decided on, and certainly I will keep to the conditions, whatever may be the reſult.

Dumourier to Miranda, Paris Jan. 19.

THE cataſtrophe of the 21ſt (the execution of the King) will probably make all the people of Europe our enemies. Here is what has been decided on with reſpect to this in the executive council.

We are yet uncertain what part England will take; and it is this reſolution which ſhall determine our conduct with reſpect to Holland. The council, agreeably to the wiſhes (après le déſir) of the Engliſh and Dutch, have fixed on me to go to England as ambaſſador extraordinary, to have a categorical anſwer from this nation for peace or war. In conſequence of this, orders have been given to our ambaſſador, Chauvelin, to return. To-morrow a ſecret agent will be ſent, well known to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, to demand from both parties, that is, from the whole nation (c'eſt-à-dire, à la nation toute entiere), a ſafe conduct for

for me, and the aſſurance of being well received, whatever be the ſucceſs of my miſſion. As it is a yes or a no that I am going to demand, like Cato at Carthage—this miſſion will only laſt eight days.

A confidential perſon is ſent to the Hague, to adviſe Lord Auckland and the Grand Penſionary Van Spigel, to come to confer with me, agreeably to their own requeſt (ſelon leur propre demande) on the frontier, between Antwerp and Breda, to begin a negotiation. This little abode at Antwerp will give me time to receive the courier of the miniſter Le Brun, who will bring the anſwer from London. If this anſwer be categorical and friendly, as they yet flatter themſelves, then I will return to Paris, to take my laſt inſtructions; or will go, according to the advice of the council, from Antwerp to

Calais to embark. If, on the contrary, the anſwer be evaſive or peremptory, I will attack Maeſtricht eight days after, &c.

Dumourier to Miranda, Paris Jan. 23.

WHEN you ſhall have begun your expedition, and I my hardy enterpriſe, you will no longer be able to receive any orders from me; for our communication will be altogether interrupted, till we join again on the march, which I ſhall make by Utrecht, when the revolution ſhall be made at Rotterdam and Amſterdam; where I ſhall not ſtop, in order to rejoin you more quickly, and diſembarraſs you from your ſieges, by the orders which I ſhall give, through the new republic, to the different commanders. I ſhall carry with me, moſt probably, a reinforcement of Dutch troops.

troops. If I do not completely ſucceed, I ſhall endeavour at leaſt to take poſſeſſion of Breda, and perhaps alſo of Bergen-op-zoom, or Bois-le-duc, to cover our flanks till ſpring.

But the more daring my attack is, the more hope I have of ſucceſs. If I were ſtrong and had time, I would take a more methodical march. In the ſituation we are, we muſt aſtoniſh, and ſtrike deſperate ſtrokes.

We undertake a buſineſs as difficult as it is audacious. Here it is that we may well ſay, Conquer or die! Our intimate friendſhip will ſmooth all difficulties—you are my faithful ſecond, and I hope every thing from you. On this important occaſion I regard our enterpriſe as the only means of ſaving the republic.

Dumourier to Miranda, Antwerp Feb. 11.

— — — THINK how important it is, my dear friend, that you ſhould employ the Pruſſians, to hinder their march on me, who have but 15,000 men, and ſcarcely that; nevertheleſs, there is no going back. My van will depart the 18th, I ſhall follow the 19th. Spread reports continually, through the army, that I am coming; and haſten to get together your artillery and your carriages, not to delay after you have taken Maeſtricht. It is on your ſpeed to ſecond me that depends the fate not only of Holland but of the republic, and the liberty of nations: for, if we do not ſucceed in our invaſion of Holland, having neither the love of the Belgians, whom we have on the contrary exaſperated againſt us, nor an army proper for the defenſive, we ſhall be driven from the Low Countries with the ſame celerity as we rendered ourſelves maſters of it. Nothing but diſgrace and conſternation

can

can follow this retreat, which cannot be otherwiſe than diſorderly, and we ſhall have much difficulty to defend our own country. Such are our dangers, and it is only by the moſt daring courage, and the greateſt rapidity, that we can ſave the republic.

Dumourier to Miranda, Antwerp Feb. 15.

In ſix or eight days, at moſt, I hope to finiſh the bombardment of Maeſtricht, and, by a rapid march immediately after, to proceed on to Nimeguen with a body of 25,000 men, to join or ſupport Dumourier, who will have penetrated into Holland on the other ſide, according as we are agreed. I cannot help foreſeeing great difficulties in all theſe enterpriſes; but I hope that we ſhall

ſurmount them, if time or chance be any way favourable to us.

Miranda to the Miniſter of War, Bournonville, Liege Feb. 17.

THE delays which I experience put me out of all patience, and would ſtill more ſo, if your letter of the 18th did not prove to me that you are experiencing the ſame. This juſtifies the idea that I have always had, that the declaration of war was too precipitate. The negotiation ought to have been ſpun on till I was ready to enter Holland, and beſiege Maeſtricht.

Dumourier to Miranda, Antwerp Feb. 19.

DUMOURIER writes to Miranda, from Groot Zorndort, February 22, that he is in full expedition; that he has blockaded Bergen-

Bergen-op zoom; and on the 26th he writes from Zevenbugen, that Klundert had been taken in the night, and expreſſes his hopes of the effect that the news of the ſurrender of Breda will occaſion, and determines on the attack of Williamſtadt and Gertrudemburg the next day and the day after. He concludes this letter—"Thus I hope, that, before the month of May, we ſhall have at leaſt 25,000 Belgian infantry to join our army. The volunteers will come in crowds to join us, when they ſhall be informed of our ſucceſs. I hope that we ſhall be able to get together in this corner 150,000 men, with whom I will amuſe myſelf in playing ſome monkey tricks (à faire quelques fingeries) with the deſpots who are attacking us. Adieu, my dear comrade! make a good fire, drink hard, take care of your health, and be merry."

Our

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We undertake a buſineſs as difficult as it is audacious. Here it is that we may well ſay, Conquer or die! Our intimate friendſhip will ſmooth all difficulties—you are my faithful ſecond, and I hope every thing from you. On this important occaſion I regard our enterpriſe as the only means of ſaving the republic.

Dumourier to Miranda, Antwerp Feb. 11.

Our dream is finiſhed in Holland. My dear General, what I have foreſeen has happened. The enemies have attacked Lanoue in his cantonments, right and left: he took his field of battle before Aix-la-Chapelle, but he has been forced — — — May that Providence which watches over France, have hindered both you and your troops from embarking! Fly hither! I declare that if you do not come, I am in no condition to command ſuch troops in ſuch a ſituation. You recollect what I told the miniſter when he ordered me to take your place during your abſence. It is clear, that the expedition into Holland cannot any longer take place, if the ſiege of Maeſtricht ſhould be raiſed. In any caſe you can be here in twenty-four or thirty hours.—Fly! I repeat it—you will yet be in time to decide on what is to be done.—Fly hither! ſend troops to Mechlin, and you will have time,

time, at your arrival, to decide on what ſhall be done with the army which has taken Breda.

Valence to Dumourier, Liege March 2.

P. S. "Though you ſhould wiſh to continue your project into Holland, the plan of the campaign muſt be changed, and you only can do it. Minutes are ages."

Fier républicain, mon frere, mon ami! forget your vexations, celebrate in your army the taking of Gertrudemburg, which capitulated to-day at half paſt four o'clock. I hope the armies of the republic will take courage, and excite each other to a noble emulation. Gertrudemburg, covered with inundations, almoſt inacceſſible, defended by numerous forts and a dreadful artillery, with

with a garriſon of Swiſs, held out thirty-ſix hours againſt French impetuoſity and the genius and talents of Arcon. It is the key of Holland, by which I am going to attack it.

You judge, my friend, that I am farther than ever from abandoning a plan which will give me money, ammunition, ſubſiſtence and allies; a plan which will ſave the Low Countries, and France into the bargain.

See what is to happen. The Pruſſians will abandon the Auſtrians, to go to the ſuccour of the Hague and Amſterdam, where I will be before them. I will fight them at the head of thoſe ſame Hollanders againſt whom I fight at preſent. You ſhall march back on Grave, which you ſhall take; then you ſhall attack Nimeguen, and then we will join hands. In the mean time Valence, having only to do with the Auſtrians, to whom he will be infinitely ſuperior by the

the aſſiſtance that will come to him on every ſide, will hold them in check, till you return to take them in flank, by Cleves and Juliers.

Dumourier to Miranda, Moerdick March 4.

In comparing your two letters, my dear Miranda, you may imagine what ſervice the ſecond has rendered me; eſpecially after the little hope left me by the firſt. Ready to paſs the Moerdick; ready to conquer all the difficulties; ready to ſecure at length, for ever, the liberty and glory of my country, and of Holland. I ſaw every thing loſt if you had not revived me, both on your own poſition and that of the ſpirit of the army: the letter of Valence had driven me to deſpair. I ſaw nothing but confuſion; and not a ſingle reſource. Now all my hopes are

are reviving; dangers diminiſh as we have time before us; and if you anſwer me for your ſide, as I do not doubt, I have every hope of mine.

— — — My ſuccours ought even to aſſiſt you, and it will be eaſy for you to perſuade my brave brethren in arms, that, preſent or abſent, I ought always to influence their conduct; tell them what ſatisfaction I have in finding them worthy of the victories we are gaining together. Adieu, my friend, and more than ever my friend—May we be always worthy of each other! and believe that two or three good heads are ſufficient to ſave a republic.

Dumourier to Miranda, Moerdick March 7.

A MOTION leads me to depart: it is to give confidence to the Brabanters, and to

to bring them back to us by the truſt they repoſe in me; and eſpecially in leſſening the tyranny and injuſtice which they have till now experienced. My reſolution is taken with reſpect to this, whatever Cambon and his ſatellites may ſay.

Dumourier to Miranda, Moerdick March 9.

— — — THE laſt affair of Nerwinde is of much greater importance. — — — Our loſs is conſiderable— in my diviſion alone there was one general officer killed, and more than thirty others dead or wounded. Amongſt others, my firſt aid-du-camp, whom you know, was killed at my ſide, and two thouſand men nearly dead as well as wounded. By this you may compute the loſs of the other diviſions.

The

The enemy attacked us the next day with vigour, and obliged us to retire behind Tirlemont, and afterwards to Louvain, where I led back the centre and left diviſion of the army. This check muſt produce the moſt fatal conſequences for the fate of the Low Countries, and favour political affairs in general. I am aſtoniſhed that Dumourier was guilty of ſo great an error.

There are many other things which I wiſh much to communicate to you, but I cannot truſt them to paper. When I read your letter, in which you tell me, that the ramification of the plot lately diſcovered againſt our dear liberty extended even to the army, I thought you exaggerating and too timid. At preſent I am convinced there is a foundation for it, and I ſuſpect more than one individual to be principal agents in our preſent reverſes. I will tell you more, my friend: I have heard theſe very